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**ORVIETO AND ITS CATHEDRAL: THE CITY, THE CURIA AND THE  
ARTISTIC CONTEXT**

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**Submitted in part fulfilment  
for the degree of Postgraduate Diploma  
in History of Art at the  
University of Warwick**

**October 2007**

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## Abstract

Orvieto was a place of popes in the second half of the thirteenth century. Urban IV, Gregory X, Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII all held court there. The pope and his numerous entourage made what was essentially a modest hill top town of artisans and feudal nobility, a magnet for men of wealth and culture. Its Gothic cathedral, which still houses one of the most renowned eucharistic relics in Christendom, was conceived in this cosmopolitan atmosphere. Its façade iconography addressed both intellectuals and less educated members of the Orvietan populace.

This thesis begins by examining the geographic and political environment which contributed to the realisation of one of Italy's great Gothic cathedrals. Comparisons between the architectural structure of the Cathedral in Orvieto and Roman basilicas are followed by an examination of its western façade in relation to possible iconographic sources deriving from a broader European context. The unusual technical combination of sculpted reliefs, their possible polychromatic finish and its combination with mosaic and bronze work on the façade is also object of discussion.

A comprehensive reading of the medieval cathedral within its socio-political environment is encouraged. It was not a separate entity, but a functioning structure in constant rapport with its surroundings. In this light an analysis is performed of Orvieto's parish churches, convents and monasteries, the orders which administered them and the religious rituals which involved them. The presence of the Papal Court in Orvieto is reflected in the city's memory, primarily in the sophisticated architecture and decoration of its cathedral, but also in the works of art its members left behind them.

### Abbreviations

- B.I.S.A.O.*                      *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*
- B.R.D.S.P.U.*                   *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*
- Muratori, RISS, 1    *Ephemerides Urbevetanae, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by L.A. Muratori, Tomo XV, Part V, vol.1, (Città di Castello 1903-1920).
- Muratori, RISS, 2    *Ephemerides Urbevetanae, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by L.A. Muratori, Tomo XV, Part V, vol.2, (Città di Castello 1903-1920).

### List of Papal Registers

- Reg. Inn. IV*                      E. Berger, ed., *Les Registres d'Innocent IV (1243-1254)*, BEFAR ser. 2/1, 1-13; (Paris 1884-1921).
- Reg. Urbain IV*                  J. Guiraud and S. Clémencet, eds., *Les Registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264)*, BEFAR ser.2/13, 1-11, (Paris 1893-1945).
- Reg. Clem. IV*                   E. Jordan, ed., *Les Registres de Clement IV (1265-1268)*, BEFAR ser. 2/11, 1-6, (Paris 1893-1945).
- Reg. Nic. III*                      J. Gay and S. Vitte, eds, *Les Registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)*, BEFAR ser. 2/14, 1-5, (Paris 1898-1938).
- Reg. Mar. IV*                      F. Olivier-Martin, ed., *Les Registres de Martin IV (1281-1283)*, BEFAR ser. 2/16, 1-3, (Paris 1901-1935).
- Reg. Hon. IV*                      M. Prou, ed., *Les Registres de Honorius IV (1285-1287)*, BEFAR ser. 2/7, 1-4, (Paris 1886-1888).
- Reg. Bon. VIII*                  A. Thomas, M. Faucon, G. Digard and R. Fawtier, eds, *Les Registres de Boniface VIII (1294-1303)*, BEFAR ser. 2/4, 1-17, (Paris 1894-1939).

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238. Seal Matrix of Teodorico, Archbishop elect of Palermo, c.1294, bronze, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome, Collezione Corvisieri, n. 113, 68 x 42 mm.
239. Seal of Teodorico, Archbishop elect of Palermo, c.1294, gesso, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome, Collezione Corvisieri, n. 113, 68 x 42 mm.
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249. Pace di Valentino (?), *Saint Galganus crowned in Heaven*, detail of the *Reliquary of San Galgano*, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, 36.5 x 99.5 cm.
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252. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Censing Angel*, c.1282, marble, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 58 cm in height.
253. Seal of Annibaldo Annibaldi, Cardinal priest of XII apostoli, c.1263. (Gardner 1975).
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255. Papal Palace, Avignon.

## Introduction

On 14 June 1944, as a squadron of British tanks made its way up from Viterbo towards Orvieto in the Allied advance pushing the Germans north out of Italy, the major in command was approached by a German staff car with a white flag fluttering from its window. A young German officer got out and in the fading light of that Monday evening, delivered his message: "In consideration of the historic beauty of Orvieto, the German commander proposes to the allied command that the city of Orvieto be declared open." The German troops pulled back twenty kilometres and the battle took place further north.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike Viterbo, Orvieto remained intact and its medieval monuments were saved from inevitable damage. Its cathedral still towers on the rock where the city is perched and its mosaic façade still sparkles in the evening sunlight. The survival of its monuments and the fact that an unusual amount of the city's late medieval archive has been preserved makes Orvieto fertile subject matter for medieval historians. In fact the pioneering studies of padre Guglielmo Della Valle and Luigi Fumi of the city and its cathedral continue to be amplified and elaborated by contemporary scholars.<sup>2</sup> What I hope to establish in this thesis is the key function of Orvieto's late medieval cathedral within its urban context. It was a product of both its geographic and political environment, and this is reflected in its iconographic programme. Papal presence in the city was intrinsic to its development. However, it must never be singled out as a separate entity or examined purely in its religious function. Religious fervour cemented the social structure of the middle ages.

The first chapter of this thesis looks at the city's geographic position within the Papal States. The papal court provided the city with its most powerful and influential inhabitants, and their presence is reflected in the architectural inspiration of the cathedral drawn from the great Roman basilicas. The papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore is even recorded in a surviving document as being a model for the Cathedral in Orvieto. The papal court did not only identify with Rome in the late middle ages, and many of its members came from further afield. In particular the retinues of the French popes, Urban IV and Martin IV who both lived in Orvieto, were populated by a

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<sup>1</sup> J. Hooper, 'The Major and the minor miracle that saved a historic town', *The Guardian*, 28 April 2004.

<sup>2</sup> G. Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Roma 1791); L. Fumi, *Codice Diplomatico della città di Orvieto: Documenti e regesti dal secolo XI al XV, e la Carta del Popolo: codice statuario del Comune di Orvieto* (Firenze 1884); L. Fumi, *Gli Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S. Maria di Orvieto. Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Roma 1891).

remarkable number of cultured Frenchmen. The Italian popes in Orvieto were no less cosmopolitan, Gregory X, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII had all travelled extensively before their election to the papal throne. The international formation of many of Orvieto's inhabitants was just as likely as more localised Italian Romanesque precedents to have provided the artistic stimulation behind the construction of the city cathedral.

A cathedral façade is of course its public face, and as such chapter two examines the narrative of the Cathedral of Orvieto's western façade sculptures and mosaics. The presentation of their message and the façade's intended audience is also considered. The presence of two late thirteenth-century drawings of the façade permit an analysis of the early façade iconography and its connections with members of the papal court present in Orvieto at that time. Specific attention is given to eastern examples of the Tree of Jesse and northern European precedents of the Stories of the Genesis and the Last Judgement, which may well have provided the iconographic bases for the great relief cycles on the lower pilasters of the cathedral façade in Orvieto.

In the third chapter, focus shifts from the external image of the cathedral to an examination of its interior design, in particular the later painted decoration of the apse and transept chapels. Just as the cathedral is in constant interaction with its surroundings, so does its early façade programme relate to the more detailed narrative fresco cycles of eucharistic miracles in the Chapel of the Holy Corporal, the Life of the Virgin in the apse and the Last Judgement scenes in the 'Cappella Nuova'. Of equal importance as these vast painted cycles, the bronze architrave above the Porta del Vescovado and the more significant pieces of church furniture, such as the cathedral pulpit and bishop's throne, are considered in a constant effort to remind the reader that the medieval cathedral should be considered as an organic whole, and not as a group of individual pieces enclosed in an architectural shell.

The cathedral represented ecclesiastic power in the medieval city, and yet the Comune of Orvieto also played an essential role in its realisation. Medieval urban historians often point out that Orvieto was a bipolar city until the late thirteenth century, characterised by an ecclesiastic pole localised at the cathedral and its civic pole where the Comune was situated in Piazza Maggiore.<sup>3</sup> Very little was strictly secular or could

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<sup>3</sup> M.C. Miller, 'Topographies of Power in the Urban Centers of Medieval Italy. Communes, Bishops, and Public Authority', *Beyond Florence. The contours of Medieval and early Modern Italy*, ed. by P. Findlen, M.M. Fontaine, D.J. Osheim (Stanford 2003), pp.181-189; A. Satolli, 'Storia e struttura urbana di Orvieto medievale', *Orvieto: progetto per una città utopica*, ed. by P.M. Toesca (Siena 1985), pp.143-148.

be considered entirely religious in thirteenth-century Europe however, and certainly religious life permeated every level of the day to day business of Orvietan citizens. The religious houses which surrounded the city cathedral are identified in chapter four of the thesis, as these religious structures were instrumental to the cathedral's local political context. Of course these religious houses - and those who administered them - were in constant rapport with the more worldly centres of power present in Orvieto and this is reflected in their decorative programmes.

It is in this context that the final chapter examines the patronage of the arts in Orvieto and by Orvietans. The city was one of the first to adopt the Angevin cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse and house a church and convent in his name. The Comune's decision to place statues of Boniface VIII over the city gates of Porta Maggiore and Porta Postierla reflects how entwined Orvietan affairs were with the political manoeuvres of the papacy. Members of the papal court not only lived but died in Orvieto, and their burials were confined almost exclusively to the churches of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Unfortunately, both these mendicant houses have suffered much damage, and the only tomb to survive in large part, although damaged by dislocation and losses, is Arnolfo di Cambio's splendid example executed for Cardinal Guillaume de Bray (d.1282), however the remaining tombs were also likely to have been impressive monuments. The Orvietan cardinal and papal chamberlain to Boniface VIII, Teodorico is elusive in documentary sources, however an examination of his seals as archbishop elect of Palermo and as cardinal of Civita Papalis reveals him to have been a discerning patron of the arts, making his involvement in the cathedral project alongside that of bishop Francesco highly probable.



## 1 The Cathedral of Santa Maria della Stella in Orvieto

In this chapter, the origins of the project for the city cathedral will be investigated. The periods of papal residence of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII in Orvieto during the 1290s are closely examined in relation to the plans for the new cathedral project. Papal involvement in the project is analysed using comparative studies of the cathedral with possible Roman precedents, namely the papal basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano. A detailed analysis of the two preparatory drawings for the façade reveals discrepancies between these initial plans and the realisation of the cathedral architecture. The directional changes in the realisation of the cathedral are identified and discussed in terms of possible shifts in political power and influence in the direction of the building project.

### Orvieto's Geographic Position within the Patrimony of Saint Peter

Orvieto was the third city outside Rome, in order of papal preference, for the residence of the papal court towards the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At this time its population numbered approximately between 14,000 and 17,000 people.<sup>2</sup> The city, perched high on its plateau of rock eighty metres above the river valley Paglia, was a natural fortress (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Orvieto had no need to hide behind characteristic medieval constructions of massive walls behind walls; the city was particularly suited to its papal inhabitants as God himself had provided for its innate protection in the sheer drop of the cliff face surrounding it (Fig. 2).

Located at approximately 100 km north of Rome within the Patrimony of St. Peter, Orvieto is flanked by the River Paglia on its north-eastern side, which flows to meet the Tiber beyond the city at the south-east (Fig. 3). This waterway would have provided rapid access to Rome. According to Pliny the Younger both the Tiber and the Paglia were navigated by the Romans, who used these rivers to transport supplies to

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<sup>1</sup> Orvieto was occupied by the papal court for a total accumulative period which amounted to seven years, nine and a half months during the thirteenth-century. A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi locali', *Società e Istituzioni dell'Italia comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*, Congresso Storico Internazionale, Perugia, 6-9 November 1985, I (Perugia 1988), pp.155-278, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth Carpentier points out that a city with a population of more than 10,000 was considered large by medieval standards. É. Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin du XIIIe siècle : Ville et campagne dans le cadastre de 1292* (Paris 1986), p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> D. Foote, *Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy. The Bishopric of Orvieto, 1100-1250* (Notre Dame, Indiana 2004), p. 8.

Rome from the fertile plains surrounding the lakes of Chiusi and Trasimeno. Documentation from the second half of the fourteenth century records marble from the Temple of Jupiter in Rome destined for the Cathedral in Orvieto being transported from Rome along the Tiber as far as the Port at Attigliano.<sup>4</sup> Apart from rainfall in the cooler months of the year, the Tiber was constantly fed with water from fresh water springs, which meant that it could be navigated all year round.<sup>5</sup> An overland route for travellers and supplies was the road leading from Florence down through Arezzo and Orvieto to Rome.<sup>6</sup> This path appears to have become popular by the mid thirteenth century for travellers from northern Europe who chose it as an alternative to the Via Francigena which ran from Rome up to Siena, bypassing Orvieto (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup>

In 1256, the author of *Annales Stadenses* recommends the road to Rome passing through Orvieto to German travellers.<sup>8</sup> Later on in the century King Philip III led the remnants of the French crusading force accompanying the bodies of his father Louis IX and his wife Isabella of Aragon through Orvieto on their sorrowful journey homewards.<sup>9</sup> Upon Prince Edward Plantagenet's request the French King had accompanied the ill-fated Henry of Almain as far as Viterbo in 1271, where on Edward's behalf he was to make peace with the brothers Simon and Guy de Montfort.<sup>10</sup> The failure of his mission, which ended with his murder outside Viterbo, led Edward I and his consort Eleanor of Castile along the same road to Orvieto, where they were received by the papal court of Gregory X in residence there in 1273.<sup>11</sup>

It would seem that the English king's passage through the Papal States set a precedent for his subjects. In 1301 his messengers Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle

<sup>4</sup> R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* (Rome 1902), p.18; E. Lussana Grasselli, "'Navigare... nel tempo': progetti di navigabilità dei fiumi umbri", *L'Umbria e le sue acque. Fiumi e torrenti di una regione italiana*, ed. by A. Grohmann (Perugia 1990), p.152, 160.

<sup>5</sup> Lussana Grasselli (1990), p.160; A. Cialdi, *Sul Tevere e sulla linea più conveniente per la unione dei due mari e sulla marina mercantile dello Stato Pontificio*, (Rome 1847), p.107.

<sup>6</sup> Carpentier (1986), p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> The option to use the road from Florence, passing through Arezzo and Orvieto to join the Via Francigena at Montefiascone, to travel to Rome may have been encouraged by Florentine rivalry with Siena, which controlled a large section of the Via Francigena north of Rome. Carpentier (1986), p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Annales Stadenses, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XVI, p.338.

<sup>9</sup> Apart from his father and his wife, Philip III was also taking back for burial the bodies of his brother the count of Nevers, his brother-in-law Theobald of Champagne, the king of Navarre and Powicke also suggests that of Philip de Montfort. King Louis IX had died in Tunisia. Isabella of Aragon had drowned near Cosenza, where her flesh was buried in the city cathedral. Muratori, RISS, 1, p.132; F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward. The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth-century*, 2 vols., II (Oxford 1950), p. 608, n.4.

<sup>10</sup> Henry of Almain's peace mission in Viterbo is testified to by Pope Gregory X in the bull excommunicating Guy de Montfort, issued 1 April 1273. Powicke (1950), p. 608, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London 1997), p. 83.

travelled down through Italy to Anagni (Fig. 5). They carried with them Edward's letter to Boniface VIII in reply to the Pope's bull *Scimus, fili*.<sup>12</sup> A detailed report of the envoys' journey, including a travel itinerary, was then written by the men on their return to England and taken by one of their clerks to Edward; at the time on campaign in Scotland.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note that the mission stopped overnight in both Siena and Orvieto on both legs of their journey, indicating that by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Orvieto road may no longer have been considered an alternative to the Via Francigena, as much as a variation to the conventional route along the Francigena.

### A Summer Vacation. The Papal Entourage in Orvieto

Easy access to Rome overland and by water made Orvieto favourable to the popes who chose to take up residence there. A pope travelled with his *familia* and was more than often accompanied by "*tutta la curia*", as was specified when Gregory X entered Orvieto on 5 June 1273.<sup>14</sup> This was a massive bulk to move and quite a logistical feat; certainly the accessibility of routes leading between the cities within the Papal States and the capital of the Patrimony must have been a determining factor in the papal choice of abode. Many of the cardinals in the period under examination were members of Roman aristocratic families, and in such fractious times it was reassuring that communication routes were reliable. If necessary, aid could be called upon and would arrive rapidly. It should be emphasised that in accepting the papal tiara, the pope was consecrated bishop of Rome, heir to Saint Peter. Rome was the traditional seat of papal power and as such, it was intrinsically linked to the papacy.

Popes had regularly begun choosing to reside outside of Rome during the summer months since the reign of Innocent III (1198-1216). The abbot William of Andres in Flanders in reference to Innocent III's absence claimed that the Roman summer was "*contraria al suo corpo*", and Innocent himself confirmed that he

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<sup>12</sup> The bull *Scimus, fili*, was issued on 27 June 1299 and ordered Edward I to withdraw from Scotland, which the pope claimed as a papal fief. E.L.G. Stones, 'The Mission of Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, ed. by A Gransden, 26 (1982), pp.8-9.

<sup>13</sup> Stones' article includes an original and translated copy of the report made by Wale and Delisle, the itinerary of their travel presented to the Royal Wardrobe as an account and the wardrobe's settlement of their account. On their journey towards Rome from Florence, the party stopped in Siena for a night and a rest-day, followed by *Funtaynes*, Orvieto, Viterbo and finally Isola Farnese. The overnight stops on the same tract of the return journey differed slightly, from Rome they proceeded to Sutri, Montefiascone, Orvieto, *Funtaynes*, Siena and Florence. Stones suggests that *Funtaynes* may well be the settlement of Fontanella, then under the jurisdiction of Buonconvento, which disappeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Stones (1982), pp.20-24, p.28 n.97.

<sup>14</sup> A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana alla corte dei papi del Duecento* (Rome 1996), p.38.

favoured Viterbo as a summer residence because of easy access for supplies to and from the city and for the variety of comforts the city offered to both the curial entourage and the hordes of pilgrims which arrived daily.<sup>15</sup>

Other popes had resided outside Rome in the summer months prior to Innocent III. Orvieto was first chosen as a summer residence by the English pope Hadrian IV (1154-1159) for the same reasons.<sup>16</sup> This is confirmed by an incident reported by Hadrian's biographer Boso, who writes that the pope had planned to meet Frederick Barbarossa to crown him emperor in Orvieto during the summer of 1155.<sup>17</sup> Hadrian IV was wary of Frederick's ambitions to restore imperial authority in Italy and felt that Orvieto was the least vulnerable place to wait for the sovereign. Frederick's unexpected early arrival in Italy forced Hadrian to change his plans and wait for him in Civit  Castellana, as according to Boso he was unable to reach Orvieto, "that safest of places", before the soon to be crowned emperor.<sup>18</sup> Hadrian IV did manage to sojourn in the city in autumn of the following year for a period of up to twelve weeks.<sup>19</sup> In a letter to James of Aragon written in Orvieto, Boniface VIII describes himself as "well and safe, whatever rumour might say".<sup>20</sup> It is clear that Orvieto continued to be considered a safe haven by popes, for popes.

#### The Cathedral of Orvieto «...ad instar Sancte Marie maioris de Urbe»

The innate association of the papacy with Rome is eloquently demonstrated in a document, dated 6 September 1290, of an agreement between the papal chamberlain to Nicholas IV, Nicola di Trevi, and the cathedral chapter, specifying that Orvieto's new cathedral was to be built «... quod ipsa Ecclesia, sicut predicatur, nobilis et solempnis ad instar Sancte Marie maioris de Urbe» (Figs. 6-8).<sup>21</sup> Was this a condition of the Orvietan cathedral's design which had been stipulated by the Franciscan pope? After

<sup>15</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1996), pp. 24-25; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. 24, p.732.

<sup>16</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1996), p.27.

<sup>17</sup> Boso, 'Vita Hadriani IV', *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne and C. Vogel, Biblioth que des Ecoles fran aise de Ath nes et de Rome, ser. 2, vol.2 (Paris 1955), p.390.

<sup>18</sup> Boso, 'Vita Hadriani IV' (Paris 1955), p.390; Foote (2004), p.73.

<sup>19</sup> Before arriving in Orvieto, Hadrian IV was in Narni in August 1156. The pope was reported by numerous chroniclers to have been in Rome on 12 November that same year, after having visited Viterbo. D. Waley, *Orvieto Medievale* (Roma 1985), p.26, n.5; Boso, 'Vita Hadriani IV' (Paris 1955), p.295; Bernard Gui in RISS, ed. by L.A. Muratori, T.III, P.I (1723-1734), p. 216, 424; Almaricus Angerius in RISS, ed. by L.A. Muratori, T.III, P.II (1734), c.371.

<sup>20</sup> *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. by H. Finke, 3 vols. (Berlin 1908-1922; reprinted Aalen 1966-1968), p.63; T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London 1933), p.174.

<sup>21</sup> L. Fumi, *Statuti e Regesti dell'opera di Santa Maria di Orvieto. Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, ristampa anastatica a cura di L. Riccetti (Orvieto-Perugia 2002), p.248.

all, he had favoured this Roman church, having restored the palace in its vicinity and commissioned extensive decorative programmes in its apse and transept.<sup>22</sup> Could this planned transformation of Orvieto's cathedral into a simile Santa Maria Maggiore have lent authority to the pope's choice to reside outside the capital? Certainly Orvieto's cathedral remains the city's most visual landmark even today, and I cannot think of a more effective method in broadcasting papal dominion within the medieval Patrimony of Saint Peter, than to rebuild its city cathedrals in the image of highly recognisable Roman, and what's more papal, churches.<sup>23</sup> It has been suggested that the unusual choice of the fifth-century basilica's semicircular choir, non-salient transept, nave columns, open-raftered roof and mosaics as a model for the fourteenth-century Orvieto cathedral could be an indication of Nicholas IV's direct involvement in its planning stages (Figs. 9, 10).<sup>24</sup> The cathedral at Orvieto shares not only these elements, but also the gothic rose window on its façade, and there are clear, although not exact, correspondences in the buildings' dimensions.<sup>25</sup> In addition, an unfinished Genesis cycle and sequence of prophets, commissioned by Pope Nicholas IV in the transept of Santa Maria Maggiore can be compared to parts of the narrative cycles on the façade of the Orvieto cathedral.<sup>26</sup> Not all art historians agree on the interpretation of the phrase

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<sup>22</sup> Prior to his nomination as pope, Girolamo d'Ascoli had been named cardinal-priest of Santa Pudenziana by Nicholas III on 16 May 1279. This early Christian church was situated just behind the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore, which was recognized to be a church dominated by the Colonna family at the end of the thirteenth-century. During this cardinalate Girolamo seems to have cultivated a friendship with the Colonna family and it was probably partly due to this relationship that Girolamo received his second nomination as cardinal of Palestrina by Nicholas III in 1281. Nicholas IV died in the papal palace he restored at Santa Maria Maggiore on 4 April 1292. A. Paravicini Bagliani (1996), p.17; J. Gardner, 'Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* (1973), p.2; J. Gardner, 'The façade of the Duomo at Orvieto', *De l'art comme mystagogie iconographique du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*. Actes du Colloque de la fondation Hardt tenu a Genève du 13 au 16 février 1994 (Poitiers 1996), p.201.

<sup>23</sup> Paravicini Bagliani points out that many of the papal periods of residence spent in cities outside Rome were linked to Innocent III's politics of "recuperation", and in Boniface VIII's case unrelenting expansion, of the Papal State. A. Paravicini Bagliani (1996), pp.24, 27; D. Waley, 'Lo Stato della chiesa dal periodo feudale a Martino V', *Comuni e signorie dell'Italia nordorientale e centrale. Storia d'Italia*, VII/2 (Torino 1987), pp.231-320.

<sup>24</sup> Gardner highlights the unusual choice of architectural features from the Roman basilica, which were then repeated in the later architecture of the Cathedral of Orvieto. Gardner (1996), p. 201. Santa Maria Maggiore is a fourth-century basilica which was enlarged by Pope Sixtus III between 432 and 440. T. Verdon, 'Il fiore di Maria: teologia e iconografia in Santa Maria del Fiore', *Arnolfo. Alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, ex. Cat., Florence, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, 21 dicembre 2005 – 21 aprile 2006 (Firenze 2005), p.103.

<sup>25</sup> Santa Maria Maggiore has a nave which measures 71.56 metres in length, which is comparable to Orvieto cathedral's nave at approximately 72.80 metres long. Gardner (1992), p.201, n. 16; R. Krautheimer et al, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols. (Città del Vaticano New York 1937-1980) III, pp.8, 24; R. Bonelli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'Architettura Italiana del Duecento e Trecento*, 3rd ed., ed. by L. Riccetti (Perugia 2003), p.85.

<sup>26</sup> Gardner (1973), pp.16-20; Gardner (1996), p.201.

«... quod ipsa Ecclesia, sicut predicatur, nobilis et solempnis ad instar Sancte Marie maioris de Urbe ». In his article of 1984, Lazzarini argued that the phrase should be thought of as referring to the Roman Basilica's dedication to the *Virgine Assunta* which Nicholas IV had celebrated by commissioning Torriti's mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin in the apse, and which was repeated by the same pope at the cathedral in Orvieto on 15 November 1290. Carli and Bozzoni support Lazzarini's argument, expressing serious doubts that the phrase could refer to an architectural model.<sup>27</sup>

### Pope Nicholas IV, San Giovanni in Laterano and the Cathedral

Alongside Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano was the other Roman church to receive lavish commissions from Pope Nicholas IV (Figs. 11, 14).<sup>28</sup> It was in a pilgrim hospital near San Giovanni in Laterano that Francis of Assisi, the founding saint of the order to whom Nicholas IV had made profession, was housed during his sojourn in Rome from 1209 to 1210.<sup>29</sup> San Giovanni in Laterano was another Colonna family controlled church at the end of the Duecento.<sup>30</sup> Sixteenth-century representations of the Lateran Palace reveal that the Concistorium built by Pope Leo III was flanked on both sides by five tall semicircular niches (Figs. 12, 13).<sup>31</sup> This early eleventh-century design corresponds to the remaining five unusual semicircular side chapels running rhythmically along the cathedral nave's external walls in Orvieto (Fig. 15).<sup>32</sup> The Concistorium of the Lateran Palace was in a perpendicular position with respect to the

<sup>27</sup> Fumi (1981), pp.86-89, doc.V; A. Lazzarini, 'La santa sede e la costruzione del duomo "ad instar Sancte Marie Maioris de Urbe"', *Bollettino del Duomo di Orvieto*, 1 (1984), pp.15-18; E. Carli, 'Architettura e Scultura', *Il Duomo di Orvieto e le grandi cattedrali del Duecento*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Orvieto, 12-14 novembre 1990), pp.30-31; C. Bozzoni, 'Le cattedrali del Due-Trecento in Umbria e in Toscana', *Il Duomo di Orvieto e le grandi cattedrali del Duecento*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Orvieto, 12-14 novembre 1990, ed. by G. Barlozzetti (Rome Turin 1995), p.234, n.50.

<sup>28</sup> J. Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage of Pope Nicholas IV', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, serie IV, quaderno 2 (Pisa 1997), p.3.

<sup>29</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1996), p.6.

<sup>30</sup> Gardner (1997), p.3.

<sup>31</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City 312-1308* (Princeton 1980), pp.121-122; C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300-1150* (1971, reprinted Toronto 1986), pp.88-90; P. Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran* (Paris 1911), pp. 103-105. For sixteenth century plans of the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano and the Lateran Palace Carli cites a drawing conserved in the Lateran Archives, a sixteenth-century fresco of the Lateran Palace in the Biblioteca Sistina, Città del Vaticano and the view of the Lateran Palace and Basilica in an engraving by Lafréry (Rome 1575). Carli (1995), pp. 40-42.

<sup>32</sup> White suggests that these flanking semicircular chapels may also be an echo of the niches along the walls of the Temple of Mars at Todi. J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400* (1st ed. Baltimore 1966, 3rd ed. Hong Kong 1993), pp. 49-51; M. Trachtenberg in O. von Simson, ed., *Das Mittelalter II, Propylaen Kunstgeschichte*, 6 (Berlin 1973), p.328; M. Semff, 'Textiler Festschmuck in Stein?', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 38 (1987), p.97; E. Carli (1995), p.31; P. Toesca, *Il Trecento* (Turin 1951), p.47.

north transept façade of the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano and defined the east side of the public square at the entrance of the Lateran Palace complex (Fig. 13).<sup>33</sup> The effect of the public square in front of the papal palaces of Urban IV (Table B) and Martin IV (Table C) in Orvieto, flanked on the northern side by the cathedral wall with its semicircular side chapels and slightly enclosed on the south by the Bishop's Palace (Table A) would not have been too dissimilar from its possible counterpart the *campus Lateranensis* in Rome (Fig. 15).<sup>34</sup>

In its original form (1290 – c.1310) the cathedral in Orvieto had a semicircular apse at its eastern end and the six semicircular chapels punctuated both walls of its nave. This original plan was radically transformed by Lorenzo Maitani in c.1308 – 1310, who demolished the existent apse and two chapels closest to it, building the tribune and transept arms in their place.<sup>35</sup> Consequently the rhythmic coherence of the semicircular side chapels, and indeed the architectural whole, was brutally interrupted by the squared off rectangular arms of the new transept and tribune. According to Lauer, these architectural details of the semicircular apse and side chapels were of classical origin and were also employed in the design of one of the reception rooms at the Imperial Palace in Constantinople.<sup>36</sup> The secular function of both the State assembly hall in the Lateran and the Consistorium in the Imperial Palace in Constantinople would have made them unusual models for the cathedral of Orvieto. Despite this, Nicholas IV was known to have visited architectural monuments during his eighteen month stay in Constantinople and his choice of the Consistorium as a model cannot be excluded. He also lived at the Lateran Palace, favouring its basilica with artistic commissions, and

<sup>33</sup> The public square at the entrance on the north transept of the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano is labelled XI in Figure 13 and the Consistorium on the eastern side of the square corresponds to X and is highlighted on the same illustration.

<sup>34</sup> Figure 15 reproduces Bonelli's proposal for the complex of Papal Palaces on the south side of the cathedral at Orvieto. Bonelli (2003), pp.234-235. Maria Teresa Gigliozi has suggested reversing Bonelli's order of the papal palaces of Urban IV and Martin IV, so that Urban IV's palace corresponds to letter C in Figure 15 and the palace of Martin IV is located at letter B. M.T. Gigliozi, *I Palazzi del Papa. Architettura e ideologia: il Duecento* (Rome 2003), pp.133-178; D. Gillerman, 'The Evolution of the Design of Orvieto Cathedral, ca. 1290-1310', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53 (1994), p.308; I. Herklotz, 'Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 22 (1985), p.33.

<sup>35</sup> The two mendicant churches in Orvieto belonging to the Dominicans and the Franciscans had set a precedent for the use of the tribune at the eastern end of the church. The abrupt abandonment of the rounded apse plan of the original cathedral for the squared off tribune aligns it with Orvietan mendicant design. A. Curini, 'Architettura degli Ordini Mendicanti in Umbria – Problemi di rilievo', *Francesco d'Assisi. Chiese e conventi*, ed. by O. Selvafolta (Milan 1982), pp.118-121; G. Carbonara, 'Trasformazioni posteriori', *Francesco d'Assisi. Chiese e conventi*, ed. by O. Selvafolta (Milan 1982), pp.168-169; Bonelli (2003), p.64, fig.XVI.

<sup>36</sup> Lauer (1911), p.105; E. Carli (1995), p.31.

was highly likely to have been personally involved in the planning stages of the cathedral in Orvieto, a city he chose to reside in for a period of 487 days from 1290 to 1291.<sup>37</sup>

### Santa Balbina

A more appropriate example which may have served as a model was the Roman church of Santa Balbina, *tituli cardinales* of the Cluniac Simon de Armentariis, from 1294 until his death in 1297 (Fig. 16).<sup>38</sup> Documentary evidence of the Church of Santa Balbina in Rome appears for the first time in 595, and its combination of semicircular apse with a throne and side chapels was similar to the Basilica of Giunio Basso founded circa 350, which later became a church.<sup>39</sup> A thirteenth-century bishop's throne is still located in the apse of Santa Balbina, which also had six semicircular side chapels located along its north and south walls (Fig. 17).<sup>40</sup> The cosmatesque decoration of the bishop's throne in the Roman church resembles the throne on which Arnolfo di Cambio's Virgin of the De Bray tomb is seated and occupies the same location as the elaborate fourteenth-century wooden bishop's throne in the tribune of the Orvieto cathedral (Figs. 18, 19, 20, 221). It is interesting to note that Arnolfo's Orvietan commission appears to intentionally link Ancient Rome with contemporary Orvieto, in his use of an antique allegorical statue of Fortuna which he adapted as the Virgin on the De Bray tomb (Fig. 20).<sup>41</sup> It could be

<sup>37</sup> Girolamo d'Ascoli spent eighteen months in Constantinople as the leader of a legation of Gregory X charged with preparing the Paleologan Court for the proposed unification of the Orthodox and Roman Churches in Lyons. In 1290 Nicholas himself writes of having visited another palace in Constantinople: the Palace of the Blachernae. D. J. Geanakoplos, 'Bonaventura, the two mendicant orders and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)', *The Orthodox churches and the West*, ed. by D. Baker (Oxford 1976), pp. 195-223, p. 189; Gardner (1997), p. 2. Nicholas IV was present at S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1288 where he is documented as present from 23 February to 2 March, 9 March and on 21 and 22 March. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), pp. 163, 241-242.

<sup>38</sup> The French cardinal was also Prior at the Cluniac Monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire from 1274 until 1294, and his nomination to the cardinalate was probably suggested to Celestine V by Charles II of Anjou. In 1295 he was in the Sienese State examining the election of the abbey at the Cluniac Monastery at Poggibonsi. T. Boespflug, *La Curie au temps de Boniface VIII* (Rome 2005), p.410; P. Herde, *Celestino V (Pietro del Morrone) 1294. Il papa angelico* (L'Aquila 2004), p.121.

<sup>39</sup> Krautheimer comments that buildings with semicircular apses at one end housing a throne - like Santa Balbina which held a bishop's throne - were very common from I-IV century AD, however plans with semicircular side chapels were less frequent. Krautheimer et al (1937-1980), I, p.93.

<sup>40</sup> One major difference distinguishes the plan of the ancient Roman church from the cathedral of Orvieto's design: its semicircular side chapels are alternated with cubical shaped ones. Krautheimer et al (Città del Vaticano New York 1937-1980), I, p.89, Tav.XII.

<sup>41</sup> J. Gardner, '«SEPULCRUM ... PERMAGNIFICUM ET SUMPTUOSUM INTER OMNIA SEPULCRA VICINA» A note on Cardinal Guillaume de Bray and his tomb in Orvieto by Arnolfo di Cambio', *Opere e giorni. Studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel*, a cura di K. Bergdolt e G. Bonsanti (Venezia 2001), p.86; V. Pace, 'Questioni Arnolfiane: l'Antico e la Francia', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 54 (1991), p.345.



argued that the original design of the Orvieto cathedral, with its semicircular apse and side chapels, was derived from the same aspiration.

### Promotion of the first Cathedral Project

The first inkling of the new cathedral in Orvieto is contained in a document dated 1154. It is an act restoring officiation rights to the canons of Orvieto in which bishop Ildebrando of Orvieto (1140-1155) states «*Nos vero sancte Marie tecta et muros reficiemus, luminaria de oleo et alia ornamenta dabimus*», referring to the decision to restore the old Episcopal church of Santa Maria *de episcopatu*.<sup>42</sup> Whether the work was actually performed remains unclear because in 1199 the cathedral of Santa Maria *de episcopatu* was once more recorded as being in a state of abandon, with enough water leaking from its roof to irrigate the grass growing on the pavement inside.<sup>43</sup> No doubt basing his assertion on his general knowledge of local traditions, Ser Tommaso de Silvestro, the author of an Orvietan chronicle begun at the end of the fifteenth century, links the construction of the cathedral of Santa Maria in Orvieto to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

Bishop Francesco was transferred from the see of Melfi to Orvieto on 11 May 1280 by Nicholas III and he seems to have begun preparations for this new cathedral project almost immediately.<sup>45</sup> In March 1283 Francesco gave the monastery of San Gregorio *de Subalto* on the outskirts of the city of Orvieto to the Silvestrine monks from the convent of San Silvestro at Montefano near Fabriano.<sup>46</sup> This was likely to have been an anticipatory move towards the acquisition of a large building complex with gardens

<sup>42</sup> L. Fumi, *Codice Diplomatico della città d'Orvieto* (Firenze 1884), p.20, doc.XXXII; G. Buccolini, 'Serie critica dei vescovi di Bolsena e di Orvieto', *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, 38 (1941), pp.26-27.

<sup>43</sup> «*Fracto superior tecto nullum quasi habebat contra pluviam munitum. Unde, pluvia irrigante, locus ille desertus, herbis virentibus, prato similis videbatur*». V. Natalini, S. Pietro Parenzo. *La leggenda scritta dal maestro Giovanni canonico di Orvieto* (Rome 1936), p.166.

<sup>44</sup> Ser Tommaso remarks on the building of the cathedral while documenting the 1503 event of restoring the medieval aqueduct. "...fuori trovati certi conducti de piombo bellissimi e grossi et ben facti et durevele con lectere facendo mentione del tempo che fuorofacte; idest che prima mente fu facto lo decto cannellato, che fu nel 1250, et cussi fuoro trovati in alcuni conducti de piombo lo decto millesimo, et fu in quel tempo che fu facta Sancta Maria d'Orvieto, dove in quel tempo era Orvieto in bono stato et in florita gioventù". Muratori, *RISS*, 2, p.218.

<sup>45</sup> C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta*, 9 vols., I (Città del Vaticano 1960), p.508.

<sup>46</sup> The legal act documenting the donation is dated 28 March 1283 and is contained in the Archivio Vescovile di Orvieto, Codice A, c. 176v. F. Marabottini, *Catalogus episcoporum Urbis veteris*, in the appendix of *Constitutiones et Decreta*, ed. by Cardinal Polo (Rome 1650), p.11; L. Riccetti (1996), pp.201-202, n.113.

in the parish of Santa Maria *de Episcopatus* in which he lived.<sup>47</sup> The property was described as being situated between the “*via publica e ripam comunis Urbisveteris*” in the parish of Santa Maria *Episcopatus*.<sup>48</sup> On 22 March 1284, almost exactly a year after Francesco’s concession of the monastery of San Gregorio to the Silvestine monks, the land and everything on it was sold to him for the price of 1230 lire by the same monks who had had it bequeathed to them on 27 October 1283. The land had originally been acquired by Giovanni «*Gagetanus, olim domini pape notarius*» before Francesco had made his donation of the monastery of San Gregorio to the Silvestrine monks.<sup>49</sup> Although this property was situated a little way to the north of Santa Maria *de Episcopatus*, Bishop Francesco would have been aware that its value would have increased once the perimeter of the new cathedral had been established.<sup>50</sup> It should be remembered that when the pope chose to reside outside Rome, rents tripled in the city of his residential choice, and the strategic position of Francesco’s new property close to the new cathedral complex, papal palaces and bishop’s palace, made it a lucrative investment.<sup>51</sup>

It is not however until 22 June 1284 that the first concrete efforts towards building the new cathedral are recorded.<sup>52</sup> The document stipulates the intention to unite the two parishes of Santa Maria and San Costanzo for the future construction of the cathedral «*novam hedificare ecclesiam honorabilem, sicut diutius est tractatum...*».<sup>53</sup> It is also specified in this document that the bishop would receive a third part of the cathedral’s revenue, while the canons would receive the rest. The concessions made by the bishop to the canons of Orvieto in these planning stages of the building are

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<sup>47</sup> Francesco had resided in this complex, «*...cum ortis et vacuis et cum arboribus fructiferis et infructiferis et ipsis ortis et vacuis existentibus post ipsas domos et turrim com platea posita infra ipsas domos*» since June of 1282. Archivio Vescovile di Orvieto, Codice A, c. 190r., 1284.03.22; Archivio Vescovile di Orvieto, Codice A, c. 168v., 1282.06.11. The Bishop’s Palace of Orvieto was situated directly beside the Papal Palace which was consistently being amplified and worked on from 1262 to 1284. Perali claims that Francesco conceded the Bishop’s Palace to Martin IV and took up residence in the houses of San Nicola. P. Perali, *Orvieto. Note Storiche di topografia e d’arte dalle origini al 1800* (Orvieto 1919), p. 76; L. Riccetti (1996), p.202, n. 114. He is probably referring to property which belonged to the church of San Niccolò, listed under Orvieto in the *Rationes Decimarum*. P. Sella, *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII et XIV. Umbria* (Città del Vaticano 1952), pp.801-906.

<sup>48</sup> Perali located the complex in the zone of the current monastery of San Bernardino. Perali (1919), p.76.

<sup>49</sup> The land was bought by Giovanni *Gagetanus* some time before 2 February 1283: «*actum in hospitio domini Iohannis Gagetani domini pape notarius*». Giovanni *Gagetanus* was therefore a notary of pope Martin IV as the act was dated February 1283. Archivio Capitolare di Orvieto, Codice di S. Costanzo, c. 222r., 1283.02.02.

<sup>50</sup> L. Riccetti (1996), p. 203.

<sup>51</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1996), p.51.

<sup>52</sup> Fumi (1891), pp.83-84.

<sup>53</sup> Fumi (1891), p.83.

remarkable and can be interpreted as an indication of the important role the canons, alongside that of bishop Francesco, were to play in the cathedral's realisation.<sup>54</sup>

A later document dated 3 March 1285, regarding the necessary demolition of the Chapter's houses in order to make way for the new building, mentions the Commune for the first time as a participant in the building project, alongside the bishop and the chapter.<sup>55</sup> This entrance of civic authority in the realisation of the cathedral project, which until this point had been entirely an ecclesiastic affair, was probably in response to an invitation on the part of the church authorities. The overwhelming dimensions of the project and the various litigations between the two factions which had already arisen, are likely to have prompted the bishop to encourage the Commune's involvement.<sup>56</sup>

This first document testifying to secular involvement in the cathedral project is closely followed by a testament dated the same month of March in which Orlando di Ranerio 'Gotii' left a sum of 10 lire cortonesi "*in opera Santa Marie costruenda de novo*". If he were to die without heirs, the will instructs the executor Bishop Francesco, to give all his worldly possessions to the cathedral project.<sup>57</sup> Francesco's nomination as chief executor, seems unlikely to be coincidental and leads one to believe that he was probably at the root of this 'popular' initiative.<sup>58</sup>

These donations made by individual members of the general public are followed by the papal intervention of Nicholas IV in 1289, who with diplomatic astuteness promised an indulgence to everyone who visited both the church of Santa Maria and the chapel of San Costanzo at its side.<sup>59</sup> The careful nomination of both the episcopal church and the canonical chapel as the path of necessary passage in order for pilgrims to

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<sup>54</sup> L. Riccetti, "'L'Uòpara de Sancta Maria Maghure". Protasi ad una storia sociale dell'opera del duomo di Orvieto', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* (1990-1992), p.170.

<sup>55</sup> Fumi (Rome 1891), pp.84-85.

<sup>56</sup> It was due to the two parties' incapacity to reach an agreement over the Chapter property and land on which parts of the new cathedral would be built and its eventual remuneration by the bishopric that Niccolò da Trevi, chamberlain and notary to Nicholas IV, was eventually called upon to arbitrate in order to finalise the deal. The document is dated 6 September 1290 and includes the phrase "*...ad instar Santa Marie Maioris de Urbe*", previously mentioned at note 26. Fumi (1891), pp.86-89. Riccetti's comparison of the Orvieto project to the management of the Sienese cathedral and that city's involvement in it, is interesting. The author cites Lusini who claims that the Sienese Comune began to play a directional role in the city's cathedral project in order to protect the city's image. Riccetti (1990-1992), p.170; V. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, 2 vols., 1 (Siena 1911-1913), p.12.

<sup>57</sup> The testament is dated 25 March 1285. Riccetti (1990-1992), p.172; Riccetti (1996), p.206.

<sup>58</sup> Riccetti cites this testament alongside another belonging to "*Aldruda, vedova di Passaro*". Riccetti (1990-1992), p.172. Many others are contained in M. Rossi Caponeri - L. Riccetti, *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei secoli XIII-XIV: inventario delle fonti archivistiche e catalogo delle informazioni documentarie*. *Archivi di Orvieto* (Perugia 1987), pp. XI-XXXI.

<sup>59</sup> The papal bull is dated 13 December 1289. Fumi (1891), pp.85-85.

obtain the indulgence, further demonstrates the profound involvement of the two ecclesiastical bodies in the preliminary stages of the cathedral building project. It also indicates that Nicholas IV was already well informed and aware of the delicate political balance on which their collaboration depended. The pope and his court arrived in Orvieto soon after on 12 June 1290.<sup>60</sup> Nicholas IV, at Francesco's request, sent his chamberlain to mediate in the debate between the bishop and the canons over the chapter property to be occupied by the new cathedral and its eventual remuneration by the bishopric. Part of the resulting document of 6 September 1290 has been cited above.<sup>61</sup> On 15 September 1290 the canons ceded the property that was required to build the new cathedral to the bishop.<sup>62</sup> One month later excavations began for the foundations of the cathedral and finally on the day dedicated to S. Brizio, 13 November 1290, Nicholas IV blessed the foundation stone of Orvieto's new cathedral.<sup>63</sup>

Papal interest in the cathedral of Orvieto did not finish when Nicholas IV left Orvieto in 1291. The Franciscan pope greatly valued works of piety and funded them generously with indulgences.<sup>64</sup> On 7 July 1292 Nicholas IV assigned the Chapter of Orvieto all proceeds from the church of S. Ippolito in the Val di Lago in the diocese of Orvieto, in return for land which was needed for the new cathedral project.<sup>65</sup> A second indulgence from Nicholas IV in favour of the cathedral is dated 23 August 1291.<sup>66</sup>

Although he is reputed to have been less generous than his Franciscan predecessor in the later years of his papacy, Boniface VIII favoured the Orvietan

<sup>60</sup> The *Cronaca Romana* dates Nicholas IV's entrance into Orvieto 21 May 1290. «Item eodem anno et mense (M.CC. nonagesimo) die lune X exeuntis dicti mensis madii ipse papa nicholaus intravit civitatem urbem veterem.» D.D. Bortolan, 'Cronaca Romana dall'anno 1288 al 1301', *Archivio Veneto*, 33 (1887), p.428.

<sup>61</sup> See pages 8 and 9 of this chapter.

<sup>62</sup> Archivio Vescovile di Orvieto, Codice C, c. 36v, 1290.09.15; Riccetti (1996), p.209.

<sup>63</sup> «Et die XV octubris, incepta sunt fundamenta Sancte Marie Nove de Urbeveteri, que fuerunt profunda terribiliter. Die quintadecima (to be read *tertiadecima*) novembris, dictus dominus Nicolaus papa quartus cum cardinalibus et aliis prelatiis, sollempniter parati, presente populo, viris et mulieris, descenderunt ad fundamenta dicte ecclesie: et dominus papa posuit primum lapidem...». Muratori, RISS, 1, p.162. The correction comes from M. Monaldeschi, *Commentari storici di Monaldo Monaldeschi della Cervara, ne' quali, oltre a particolari successi della città d'Orvieto et della Toscana si contengono anco le cose più notabili che sono successe per tutto il mondo insino all'anno 1584*, 4 vols. (Venezia 1584), c.59v.

<sup>64</sup> Boase (1933), p.94.

<sup>65</sup> «...presentium auctoritate ordinamus, ut fructus redditus et proventus Ecclesie Sancti Ypoliti Vallislacus Urbetane diocesis ac terrarum, vinearum, silvarum et aliorum bonorum ipsius, que in recompensationem soli in quo pro parte maior Ecclesia Urbevetana de novo construitur...» Fumi cites from a document contained in the Archive of the Chapter of the Cathedral at Orvieto. The date of the document is a problem however, as Nicholas IV died in Rome on 4 April 1292, three months before the date of this bull. See Chapter 5, note 61 for further discussion of this problem. Fumi (1891), p.89.

<sup>66</sup> *Reg. Nic. IV*, 5900 (23 August 1291). As in the previous note above, Fumi, citing a document held in the Archivio dell'Opera in Orvieto, dates this indulgence to 21 August 1292, four months after the death of Pope Nicholas IV in Rome. Fumi (1891), pp.89-90; Waley (Rome 1985), p.109, n.3.

cathedral project with four bulls to fund its works.<sup>67</sup> The first is dated Anagni, 7 August 1296 and is an indulgence of one year and forty days to all those who contribute to the cathedral project.<sup>68</sup> Two ulterior indulgences were issued in Bolsena on 3 November 1297 directly after the papal sojourn in Orvieto, «*Datum Bolsena iij Nonas Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno tertio*».<sup>69</sup> Before leaving Orvieto, Boniface had benevolently given Orvieto a dispensation from paying the taxes imposed on them two years earlier, and in return he gracefully accepted the city's gift to him of *Palazzo Soliano*, the new papal palace situated at the southern side of the new cathedral.<sup>70</sup> Bonifacio VIII had celebrated the cathedral's first mass on the anniversary of its foundation and had donated one thousand florins towards the building of it.<sup>71</sup> In addition to the two indulgences he issued in Bolsena on the 3 November, Boniface VIII issued a third bull that same day conceding five years revenue from the recently suppressed Camaldolese monastery of *Santa Maria in Silva* towards the continuing construction of the cathedral.<sup>72</sup> In this bull Boniface stresses that the planned cathedral was going to be so sumptuous and grand as to incur many expenses, which the initiators of the project were unlikely to be able to meet. However, he goes on to pledge papal support of the project.<sup>73</sup> Such generous displays of papal interest are unique to the Orvieto cathedral project and are incomparable even to papal financial initiatives towards the work in progress on the nearby Franciscan mother church at Assisi.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note the descriptive phrase «*opere plurimum sumptuoso*» used to define the Orvieto cathedral by Nicholas IV, which was to be reiterated by Boniface VIII five years later in bulls of indulgences for the cathedral of Orvieto and subsequently repeated in his indulgences

<sup>67</sup> Boase says that Boniface initially followed Nicholas IV's example of generous grants and indulgences, forty of which were issued in the first year of his papacy. During the later years of Boniface's reign this practice became rarer. Boase (1933), p.94.

<sup>68</sup> Fumi (1891), p.90.

<sup>69</sup> The indulgences of November 1297 were of 100 days for helping the building site, another of 2 years and forty days was offered to pilgrims who visited the cathedral on the first Sunday of the month and helped the building site. Fumi (1891), p.91. According to Potthast Boniface VIII was in Bolsena on 3 November 1297 after having departed from Orvieto on November 1<sup>st</sup>. A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a.post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Graz 1957), II, p. 1968, n. 24595; Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p. 243.

<sup>70</sup> Waley (1985), p.97.

<sup>71</sup> Muratori, RISS, I, p.126; Waley (1985), p.112, n.35.

<sup>72</sup> Fumi (1891), pp.142-143; Waley (1985), p.97; Riccetti (1996), p.213.

<sup>73</sup> «*Sane considerante attentius quod prefata Ecclesia, inter ceteras, quas circumposite regionis limes includit, multe nobilitatis insigniis decoratur, quodque in ea devotis et sedulis studiis divina obsequia exercentur, ... redditus non obtinet congruentes, quodve solemnitas etiam et operosa eiusdem Ecclesiae fabrica, quam pie et laudande sollicitudinis studio inchoastis, multitudinem exigit expensarum... munificentiam extendamus*». Fumi (1891), p.304.

<sup>74</sup> A.Middelndorf Kosegarten, *Die Domfassade in Orvieto. Studien zur Architektur und Skulptur. 1290-1330* (Berlin 1996), p.18.

aiding the cathedrals of Florence and Narbonne.<sup>75</sup> The expression substantiates the theory that extensive consideration had already been given to the lavish decoration of the building well before the end of the Franciscan pope's reign.

### The Cathedral, Roman Papal Basilicas and Local Churches

Nicholas IV's instructions that the Orvietan cathedral "be constructed nobly and solemnly just like Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome", together with the cathedral's visual similarities to the Concistorium at San Giovanni in Laterano, have already been mentioned as examples of how the Franciscan pope and the other initiators of the cathedral were rendering tangible the medieval concept, «*Ubi papa, ibi Roma*».<sup>76</sup> The Orvieto cathedral was originally intended to have non-projecting transepts, a semicircular choir, a timber roof and a *ballatoio* in the same manner as the papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Viterbo, the most favoured residence of the papal court outside Rome (Fig. 21).<sup>77</sup> Viterbo's cathedral was founded almost one hundred years earlier than its Orvietan counterpart; however these similarities in structure make Santa Maria Maggiore a suggestive medieval model for episcopal churches situated in cities which frequently housed the papal court outside Rome.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> In the texts of two indulgences issued, 7 August 1296 and 3 November 1297, Boniface VIII refers to the cathedral as «...*opere plurimum sumptuoso*...» and «...*opere quamplurimum sumptuoso*...» echoing Nicholas IV's definition of the project in his indulgence of 21 August 1292. For the use of the same phrase in reference to the Florentine and Narbonne cathedrals see: *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 997 (10 February 1296), 2011 (3 November 1297).

<sup>76</sup> The original rectangular plan of the Orvieto cathedral with its semicircular apse has caused it to be generically linked to three of the great Roman basilicas: Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano and San Pietro in Vaticano. An apse and transept were added to both the Esquiline basilica and the Constantinian church as part of the renovations commissioned by Pope Nicholas IV. The new thirteenth-century floor plan of Santa Maria Maggiore and the Lateran conformed with those of the ancient basilicas of San Pietro in Vaticano and San Paolo fuori le mura, as well as that of the two Roman mendicant churches: Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Of the three basilicas which initially had semicircular apses, only Santa Maria Maggiore has a three-aisled nave like the floor plan of the Cathedral of Orvieto. San Giovanni in Laterano and San Pietro in Vaticano both had five aisled naves. Gardner (1973), pp.2-3; Krautheimer et al (1937-1980), vol. III, tav. I; vol.V, tav. I, tav. V; Bozzoni (1995), p.234; Riccetti (1996), p.212.

<sup>77</sup> Gillerman (1994), pp. 300-321. The Papal Court resided in Viterbo for a total of 3,341 days during the thirteenth-century. In order of papal preference Viterbo was followed by papal residences of 3214 days in Anagni and 2806 days in Orvieto. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p.162.

<sup>78</sup> Gillerman (1994), p.303; H. Manner Watterson, 'Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Viterbo' (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1977), pp.41, 20; Krautheimer et al (1937-1980), III, p.31.

The standard floor plan of a basilica was also a source of inspiration for the great mendicant churches built in the thirteenth century (Fig. 9).<sup>79</sup> The churches of San Domenico and San Francesco in Orvieto are among the earliest of the great mendicant churches built in Italy, preceded only by the two orders' churches in Cortona and the Dominican church of San Caterina in Pisa (Figs. 22, 23, 24). According to Bonelli both the church of the Orvietan Franciscans and that of the Dominicans were begun in 1262. The width of the nave of the preachers' church was 11.2 metres, it was 82 metres long and measured roughly 25 metres in maximum height to its roof. The Franciscan friars opted for a shorter but wider structure which was 22.2 metres wide, measured 53.4 metres in length and reached 26.7 metres at its tallest point. These two splendidly ample spaces were finished in 1262 and 1264 respectively and must have outshone the bishop's church of Santa Maria *de episcopatu*, which had been recorded in such decrepit state only sixty years earlier. It is no wonder that the first papal documents mentioning renovation of Orvieto's cathedral complex were issued by Clement IV, the pope who inaugurated the new church of San Francesco in the same city.<sup>80</sup> Neither does it come as any surprise that the overall measurements of the city's new cathedral, which was to serve as the official site of the papal court while in residence, were conspicuously grander than its two mendicant precedents. Although not as wide as the Franciscan church, it was 7.3 metres longer than San Domenico and 10 metres higher than San Francesco.<sup>81</sup> Despite the Orvietan chronicler Ser Tommaso de Silvestro's assertion that the city cathedral was built around the middle of the thirteenth century, any concrete measures towards realising the cathedral project were unlikely to have taken place before the *ante quem* of its two mendicant precedents 1262-1264, which had to be surpassed in dimensions by the episcopal church; the epitome of papal authority in Orvieto.

The great height of the Orvieto cathedral choir and transepts was compensated by extraordinarily tall thick nave piers which measured 1.68 metres in diameter. These presented the master builder with the rare opportunity of designing immense pier

<sup>79</sup> Curini (1982), p.121; W. Krönig, 'Hallenkirchen in Mittelitalien', *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 2 (1938), pp.115-125; R. Wagner-Rieger, 'Zur Typologie italienischen Bettelordenskirchen', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 2 (1957/1958), pp.266-298.

<sup>80</sup> A bull issued from Viterbo by Clement IV on 3 July 1266 addressed to the Bishop of Orvieto gave permission for the hospital of Santa Maria to build a chapel and cemetery. Mancini (1994 – 2001), p.132; Orvieto, Archivio Capitolare, *Codice di San Costanzo*, doc. CVI, c. 166 v.; Bonelli (1958b), p.60.

<sup>81</sup> The cathedral of Orvieto measures 15.8 m in width, 89.3 m in length and is 36.7 m high. Bonelli (1958), p.64. The Orvieto cathedral nave is only slightly longer than that of Santa Maria Maggiore, which measures approximately 71.56 m. Krautheimer et al (1937-1980), III, p.21; Gardner (1996), p.201.

capitals, an infrequent practice in central Italian religious building sites, which were for the most part relatively austere mendicant commissions discouraging lavish architectural sculpture. Gillerman sees two clear directional changes indicated by the diversity of the octagonal and cylindrical piers, and the capitals which crown them.<sup>82</sup>

The first project variation replaces the original octagonal piers with cylindrical ones and aligns the structure with three important local churches. The churches of San Giovenale, Sant'Andrea and San Lorenzo all have cylindrical piers, band capitals and semicircular arches similar to the modified cathedral nave.<sup>83</sup> Due to the dilapidated state of Santa Maria *de episcopatu* at the end of the twelfth century, the church of Sant'Andrea functioned as the centre of Orvieto's religious and communal activities (Fig. 25).<sup>84</sup> Benedetto Caetani was elected cardinal of San Nicola in Carcere during a consistory held by pope Martin IV on 24 May 1281 in this Orvietan church.<sup>85</sup> Every year, on the day before the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the citizens of Orvieto paid their taxes to the city on the steps leading into the same church.<sup>86</sup> The decision to emulate local architecture, in particular the church of Sant'Andrea, in the changes made to the projected piers in the cathedral nave serves to visually identify the cathedral with the political power of the Commune. A subtle shift in power in favour of the local authorities with respect to the ecclesiastic power responsible for the project's initiation is then visually recorded in the architectural changes of Orvieto's new cathedral nave.<sup>87</sup>

The elaborate decorative program of sculpted capitals is testimony to a second shift of power within the governing bodies behind the cathedral project. The capitals on the nave piers demonstrate two clearly diverse styles of sculpture, according to Gillerman.<sup>88</sup> The capitals on the eight piers running from the apse until those level with the third bay of the cathedral were completed under the instruction of the initial architect responsible for the project. This master had a intensely naturalistic style, enjoyed "extreme visual effects" and could be described as a Giovanni Pisano "lacking

<sup>82</sup> Contemporary cathedral projects with comparably sophisticated decorative nave capitals are those of Todi and Genoa. Gillerman (1994), pp.310-313.

<sup>83</sup> Tradition has it that San Giovenale was once the cathedral of Orvieto. However, the bishopric of Orvieto has documents dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century and none of them indicate at any time an episcopal residence in the western zone of the city where the church is situated. C. Pacetti, *L'antica chiesa di San Giovenale*, ed. by L. Riccetti (Orvieto 1983), p.9; A. Satolli, 'Il complesso architettonico di San Giovenale e Sant'Agostino a Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 24 (1968), p.6.

<sup>84</sup> Carpentier (1986), pp.38-39.

<sup>85</sup> W. Valentini, *La insigne collegiata dei SS. Bartolomeo e Andrea di Orvieto. Documenti e note* (Orvieto 1920), p.5.

<sup>86</sup> Valentini (1920), p.6.

<sup>87</sup> Gillerman (1994), p.313.

<sup>88</sup> Gillerman (1994), pp.315-317.



in Gothic elegance”.<sup>89</sup> A second master appears to have been responsible for the remaining capitals on the piers nearest the main entrance of the cathedral. This artist’s work is characterised by a “new treatment of light and shadow” and the use of “minute, highly refined detailing within a fine architectonic form”.<sup>90</sup> Gillerman suggests that this abrupt change in style, evident in the series of capitals in the nave, may well coincide with the nomination of Lorenzo Maitani as the new *capomaestro* of Orvieto’s cathedral. He suggests that Maitani may have replaced the first architect when his credibility was questioned regarding the strength of the choir which was to support the rib vaults planned for the transept and sees close links in style between these subsequent capitals and lower levels of façade sculpture attributed to Maitani’s workshop at Orvieto.<sup>91</sup>

### The Cathedral Façade

Bonelli wrote that the Orvieto cathedral façade “...fu svolto e portato alle sue ultime conseguenze, staccando la fronte dal resto e realizzandola per mezzo di un gusto sostanzialmente nuovo e diverso...”.<sup>92</sup> Gillerman argues that the initial project took form as a papal basilica, but before work was completed on the nave the project had already come under the predominant local influence of the city Commune and that the earliest traces of project change can be observed in the nave. The first task assigned to the workshop responsible for the façade reliefs on the Orvieto cathedral was to complete the pier capitals in the nave after the work had been abandoned by an initial master builder and his workshop.<sup>93</sup> Yet it is very difficult to determine stylistic correspondences between such diverse works of art. Although both the pier capitals and the façade reliefs are sculpted, their figural content differs; in that the tiny figures on the capitals are executed almost in the round, whereas Gillerman compares them to base relief work on the lower part of the façade. The other common denominator used to illustrate stylistic parallels between the capitals and the façade reliefs is the portrayal of

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<sup>89</sup> Gillerman (1994), p.315.

<sup>90</sup> Gillerman (1994), p.316.

<sup>91</sup> This crisis in the building project may have occurred as early as 1300 according to Gillerman, who points out that although a document giving Lorenzo Maitani the rights to Orvietan citizenship confirms his assumption of the position of *capomaestro* to the cathedral of Orvieto by 1310, there is actually no documentation of the Sienese architect’s arrival in Orvieto. Bonelli suggests that the nave was probably finished as early as 1308; however, as this date is also undocumented, it is possible that the nave was unfinished at the time of the structural crisis in the apse area. If this were the case, Maitani may well have been responsible for finishing the remaining capitals in the nave which differ so markedly in style from the eight capitals on the piers at the eastern end of the cathedral. Bonelli (2003), pp.26-32; Gillerman (1994), pp.317-320.

<sup>92</sup> Bonelli (2003), p.169.

<sup>93</sup> Gillerman (1994), p.321.

acanthus. Gillerman points to similarities in style between the foliage on the capital of the third northern pier in from the west entrance (assigned by Gillerman to the second architect to work on the cathedral project), two examples of acanthus foliage at the base of the New Testament reliefs and capitals on the cathedral façade. However relevant these comparisons may be, unfortunately I feel that their use as stylistic evidence to link sculptural work on the façade to work on the western pier capitals in the nave is highly limited because of the pervasive reoccurrence of acanthus as a decorative motif throughout the history of Western Art. A medieval sculptor was quite likely able to draw on a highly diversified stylistic repertoire of acanthus leaves and the representation of such a common motif is not likely to have been a personalised expression of the artist's style. As supporting evidence, Gillerman's stylistic observations are interesting however, and he links them to a documented phrase of 1310 regarding Maitani's right to retain craftsmen specialised in figurative sculpture for the execution of the façade, pointing out that retaining his specialised staff implies that Maitani had employed them for previous figurative work which was probably that of the capitals. Unfortunately this too remains highly theoretical. White has already commented that there is no concrete evidence to prove where these specialised workers of Maitani had been working previously. They may have been executing the capitals (as Gillerman suggests), they may have begun work on the façade prior to the document or they may not have been employed at all but may yet to have been engaged for the work.<sup>94</sup>

### The First Preparatory Drawing for the Façade

Critical analysis of the reliefs on the four pilasters of the Orvieto façade has always been complicated by the existence of the two separate preparatory drawings held in the Museo dell'Opera of the same town (Figs. 26, 27).<sup>95</sup> Neither one of them is either signed or dated and yet any serious study of the façade reliefs requires their mention. Generally it is assumed that the two drawings were completed prior to work beginning

<sup>94</sup> E. Carli, *Sculture del duomo di Orvieto* (Bergamo 1947), p.19; M. Weinberger, review of E. Carli, *Sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, in *Art Bulletin*, 35 (1952), pp.60-63; J. White, 'The reliefs on the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 22 (1959), pp.263-264, n.31.

<sup>95</sup> These drawings were executed in stylus and brown ink on parchment and are kept in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto. The first drawing, known as the 'disegno monocuspidale', measures 101 x 74 centimetres. The second drawing, generally attributed to Lorenzo Maitani and known as the 'disegno tricuspidale' measures 120 x 87 centimetres. I have chosen to use two nineteenth-century photographic copies of these preparatory drawings to illustrate my thesis, because the brown ink on the original parchment is now virtually illegible in photographic reproductions. The Museo dell'Opera once possessed seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pen and ink copies of the original parchment preparatory drawings for the façade, but unfortunately these have been lost.

on the façade and they are usually, though not always, thought to have been executed by different artists at two distinct moments in time.<sup>96</sup> The two drawings differ most notably in the design of the gables. The earliest illustration is known as the *progetto monocuspidale* due to the single raised central façade panel, set with a centralised rose window and crowned by a single triangular gable.<sup>97</sup> The façade profile echoes the outline of the basilica lying behind it, demonstrating that its author perceived both the façade and the body of the cathedral as an organic whole. This cohesion between the basic structure of the basilica and its façade, supports the theory that the drawing was probably executed by the first architect of the cathedral, who was also responsible for realising its basic structure. The lack of synthesis between the actual façade and the body of the standing cathedral, which is also apparent in the second preparatory drawing of the façade, is indicative of a disregard on the part of its author for a sense of continuity between the body of the church and its front. This “disregard” could result from the author’s lack of profound understanding of the structure due the fact that he did not design it.<sup>98</sup>

The silhouette of this first project is not dissimilar to the preparatory drawing for the façade of the Sienese Baptistry or the churches in Florence and Lucca of San Miniato al Monte and San Frediano; all of which contain lavish mosaic work in their raised central gables (Figs. 28, 29, 30).<sup>99</sup> The lower tier of the façade drawing is

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<sup>96</sup> Harald Keller and Pietro Toesca attribute both the drawings to a single artist. H. Keller, ‘Die Risse der Orvietaner Domopera und die Anfänge der Bildhauerzeichnung’, *Festschrift Wilhelm Pinder*, ed. by E.E. Seemann (Leipzig, 1938), p. 20; Toesca (1951), p. 38. Enzo Carli states the drawings to be by two different artists. E. Carli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1965), pp. 15-19. John White felt that the time span separating the execution of the two drawings was probably relatively short and that they could even have been produced as two alternative solutions from artists from the same workshop. Neither did he exclude the possibility that the drawings were presented in the same moment by two competing workshops. J. White, ‘I disegni per la facciata del Duomo di Orvieto’, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e le grandi cattedrali* (Atti del Convegno inter. Per il VII Centenario dalla Fondazione del Duomo di Orvieto, Orvieto 12-14 nov.1990), ed. G. Barlozzetti (Turin-Rome, 1995), pp. 69-98. Bonelli on the other hand in 1947 sees no connection of authorship or time between the two drawings, but changes his mind in 1951 allowing that the two drawings may have been by the same author at two distinct moments in time, to finally retract and claim in 1972 that the second drawing couldn’t possibly have been executed by Maitani. R. Bonelli, ‘Il problema critico per i disegni della facciata del Duomo di Orvieto’, *B.I.S.A.O.*, 3 (1947), pp. 1-5; R. Bonelli, ‘I disegni per la facciata del Duomo di Orvieto’, *B.I.S.A.O.*, 7 (1951), pp. 1-29; Bonelli (2003), p. 92. Geza de Francovich suggests that the two drawings may have a common author. G. de Francovich, ‘Maitani, Lorenzo’, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 21 (Roma, 1934), pp. 974-975.

<sup>97</sup> *Progetto monocuspidale*, Orvieto, Archivio dell’Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q2 (19th century copy) (before 1295).

<sup>98</sup> Originally there was no transept and the main body of the church was characterised by the central higher elevation over the nave, flanked by a lower elevation over the side chapels. This roof line was echoed and indeed accentuated by the first preparatory drawing.

<sup>99</sup> The preparatory drawing for the Sienese Baptistry shows a Coronation of the Virgin in its gable which was probably intended to be executed in mosaic work. Preparatory drawing for the façade of the

dominated by a wide gable over the main central portal, which is flanked by two steeply angled gables over the side portals, much in keeping with the design of the transept façades of Notre-Dame at Paris (Fig. 31).<sup>100</sup> Similar to the two façades on the transepts of Notre-Dame in Paris, the figurative decoration most in evidence appears above the main portal of Orvieto's first façade plan and the drawing's side doors are crowned by architectural decoration and elaborate window tracery (Fig. 26). Despite the missing spires framing the high central gable, the façade drawing manifests a marked vertical thrust, accentuated by the trumpeting angels and fleur de lis at the tips of those pinnacles and spires drawn in. At the summit of the lower central gable, at the focal point of the façade, in front of the rose window, is situated the *Agnus Dei*. This eucharistic symbol of Christ's sacrifice for mankind is centrally placed along the vertical narrative line between the very human Christ child, marked by infantile gestures, in his mother's lap above the main portal, and Christ, the king of heaven, in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the tympanum above. As in the pier reliefs, sketched in the drawing and later realised by Maitani, the narrative was to be read progressively from the earth towards the heavens. Contained within these key images from the life of the Virgin, was the dual iconography of Christ the Redeemer.

The three episodes are clearly mirrored by the Marian iconography showing Mary as the earthly mother of God in the lower register and being crowned queen of heaven in the tympanum. What is strange is that there are only two instalments representing the cathedral's namesake. Given the parallel iconography in the mother and son imagery, it seems clear that the median Marian image has not been drawn in. The glaring blank space of the lower central portal gable cannot have been intended to remain in such a state and given the precedents linking the Orvieto cathedral to Nicholas IV's Santa Maria Maggiore and the later façade designed by Arnolfo di Cambio for Santa Maria del Fiore, a representation of *Dormitio Virginis* would be the most obvious iconographical choice to fill the space in the lower tympanum (Figs. 32, 33, 77).<sup>101</sup> The resulting vertical narrative is a modernised repetition of the iconography on the portal of

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baptistry of the cathedral in Siena, Siena, Museo dell'Opera, Inv. Nr. 20 (1317 ca.); Kosegarten (1996), pp. 19-20.

<sup>100</sup> A. Schmarsow, 'Das Fassadenproblem am Dom von Orvieto', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVII (1926), pp. 119-144; White, (1959), pp. 254-302.

<sup>101</sup> See 'Pope Nicholas IV, San Giovanni in Laterano and the Cathedral', pp. 9-11 of this chapter.

the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris (1210-1220) (Fig. 35).<sup>102</sup>

Early in their careers, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII, who later became generous patrons of the cathedral of Orvieto, had spent extended periods on curial business in Paris and would have had first hand knowledge of the western façade of Notre-Dame.<sup>103</sup> The *Dormitio Virginis* makes its first Italian appearance in Duccio di Buoninsegna's stained glass *occhio* finished towards the end of 1289 for the cathedral of Siena (Fig. 36).<sup>104</sup> Examination of the earlier trio of Marian scenes in Duccio's stained glass for the Sienese cathedral reminds us that the *Assumption*, as a possible iconographic choice for the lower gable on the first drawing of the Orvieto façade, cannot be completely excluded. Jacopo Torriti's extraordinary apse mosaic of the *Coronation of the Virgin* at Santa Maria Maggiore, in which Nicholas IV himself appears, was likely to have inspired the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the Orvietan cathedral's first façade project (Fig. 37).<sup>105</sup> Directly below Torriti's apse mosaic lies a depiction of *Dormitio Virginis* designed by the same artist (Fig. 32).<sup>106</sup>

The latest reconstruction of Arnolfo di Cambio's unfinished façade of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, which shared with the cathedral of Santa Maria della Stella at Orvieto the common denominator of bishop Francesco as one of its primary instigators, includes a representation of the *Dormitio Virginis* above the right portal (Figs. 33, 77).<sup>107</sup> The Florentine narration progresses horizontally across the portal tympanum depicting the *Nativity*, *Maestà* and *Dormitio Virginis*. Santa Maria del Fiore had no eucharistic relics to house and does not reiterate Orvieto's double Marian -

<sup>102</sup> W. Sauerländer, *Le cattedrali gotiche* (Milan 1991), p. 209.

<sup>103</sup> Girolamo d'Ascoli, Minister General of the Franciscan order was papal legate to the court of Philippe III after the Council of Lyons in 1274, he was still in France when Nicholas III named him cardinal-priest of Santa Pudenziana in April 1278. Benedetto Caetani, cardinal deacon of San Niccolò in carcere was appointed papal legate to France by Nicholas IV in March 1290 alongside cardinal Gerard of Sabina. Gardner (1997), p. 3; Boase (1933), p. 19.

<sup>104</sup> Duccio's window represents the *Dormitio Virginis*, *Assumption* and *Incoronation of the Virgin* reading from the base upwards. Bellosi links the window to documents dating to 1287 and 1288 but specifies that work on the stained glass was probably unfinished until 1289 or as late as 1290. L. Bellosi, 'Duccio di Buoninsegna', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, exhib. Cat. Siena, Santa Maria della Scala - Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 ottobre 2003 - 11 gennaio 2004 (Milan 2003), cat. Nr.26, pp. 166-170.

<sup>105</sup> Gardner (1973), p. 4; Gardner (1996), p. 201.

<sup>106</sup> This introduction of the iconography of the *Dormitio Virginis* at Santa Maria Maggiore may result from Nicholas IV's early travels in Eastern Europe, of particular relevance were his travels while he was Provincial Minister of *Sclavonia*, when he may well have had the chance to observe the *Dormitio Virginis* in the lower register of the apse of the monastery church of *Sopoçani*. Gardner (1997), p. 1.

<sup>107</sup> E. Neri Lusanna, "Benustius et Honorabilis Templum", *Arnolfo. Alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, ex. Cat., Florence, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, 21 Dec. 2005 - 21 April 2006 (Firenze 2005), pp. 201-223.

christological iconography. Arnolfo, besides being present in Orvieto during his work on the tomb of cardinal de Bray, was also closely connected to the Guelf circle of power intrinsically linked to the Orvieto cathedral project, some of whose principal exponents later became involved in the initial stages of building the Florentine cathedral.<sup>108</sup>

Symbols of the four evangelists are drawn in prominent positions above the piers on the lower balustrade, above them tower freestanding sculptures of prophets. Angelic figures and the *Agnus Dei* occupy the more heavenly realms above the balustrade at the second register. The lamb of God is not only essential to the christological narrative of the façade but also serves a political role. It was the emblem of Orvieto's cathedral chapter, whose important role in the cathedral project is confirmed by the careful repetition of the symbol in the same position in the second preparatory drawing of the façade.<sup>109</sup>

What is fascinating is that this first drawing, despite differences in design, already uses foliage as a framing device for the *Tree of Jesse* narrative decorating the left pilaster of the main portal, just as in the sculpted façade reliefs (Fig. 26). Evidently, despite the need to produce a second preparatory drawing, many of the decorative initiatives employed in the first drawing were retained and actually realised. Lorenzo Maitani's bronze sculptures of the baldachin held back by angels to reveal the once polychromatic marble *Virgin and child*, are also present in the lunette above the main portal of the drawing, as is the large rose window and even the scene of the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the tallest central gable of the façade (Figs. 26, 38, 40). Middeldorf Kosegarten does specify that the *Maestà* in the lunette on the drawing of the Orvieto

<sup>108</sup> Cardinal Guillaume de Bray died in 1282 and Arnolfo di Cambio must have begun work on his tomb shortly after. Arnolfo may well have sculpted the bulk of the tomb in his Roman workshop; however, at the very least he would have been present in Orvieto to install it at the church of San Domenico. Arnolfo seems to have taken up residence in Rome, with Charles of Anjou's permission, with which he was also authorised to work on a fountain for the Comune of Perugia. Charles was a regular visitor to Orvieto and resided almost permanently there from the beginning of April 1281 until mid-January 1282. The King's residency in Orvieto occurs just after Bishop Francesco of Orvieto had been transferred from his diocese in Melfi in the Angevin Kingdom to Orvieto in 1280 (see Chapter 5, pp.181-182, n.33 of this thesis). J. Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio e l'Europa', *Arnolfo alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, ex. Cat., Florence, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, 21 Dec. 2005 – 21 April 2006 (Firenze 2005), pp. 56, 59; G. Nicco Fasola, *La Fontana di Perugia* (Roma 1951), p. 58, doc. 10 September, 1277; P. Durrieu, *Les Archives Angevins de Naples*, 2 vols. (Paris 1886-1887), p. 187. For visual references between church façades and the relics they hold, see: W. Sauerländer, 'Reliquien, Altäre und Portale', *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, Akten des internationalen Kongresses der Bibliotheca Hertziana und des Nederlands Instituut Rome, Rome 28-30 September 1997, ed. by N. Bock (München 2000), pp. 121-134. Boniface VIII was responsible for transferring Francesco to the bishopric of Florence in 1295. Both he and Francesco were key figures in the realisation of both the Orvieto and Florentine cathedrals. For artistic patronage and guelf politics see also Gardner (2005), p. 59.

<sup>109</sup> Riccetti (1990-1992), p. 170.

façade was not intended to be executed in sculpture, but rather in a two-dimensional medium. The art historian argues that this is apparent from the manner in which the sculpted frame of the lunette in the drawing overlaps the pinnacle of the baldachin and cuts off the tips of the wings of the angels behind it.<sup>110</sup> Heinrich Klotz suggests that the rose window of the Orvieto cathedral façade is an indirect derivation of that on the cathedral of Strasbourg.<sup>111</sup> A recent publication attributes the marble *Maestà* to Andrea Pisano. This attribution is probably inspired by a document cited by Luzi which mentions the transport of a marble *Maestà* from Pisa to Orvieto while Andrea Pisano was capomaestro of the works at the Cathedral of Orvieto.

*«Die lune tertia mensis Martii 1348, Monaldus Cam. Dedit et solvit Dominico Vannis victurali pro apportatura duarum salmarum, et vectura mulorum ferentium de marmore a civitate Pisarum ad Urbem veterem, et Maiestatem cum lapidibus de marmore pro Angelis fiendis circa honorem dicte Maiestatis, et pro pedagogis et gabellis totius itineris, in totum XXIV libras et XVIII solidi».*

According to Luzi, the sculpture of the Virgin and child enthroned and the two marble angels which were transported with it, were executed by Andrea Pisano and his son Nino. The *Maestà* was then placed above the main door of the cathedral's western façade, whereas the marble angels were replaced by Maitani's bronze baldachin and angel group. For stylistic reasons I remain skeptical of the attribution of the marble *Maestà* once located above the main entrance of the Cathedral of Orvieto to Andrea Pisano. The document cited by Luzi may have been referring to the group of three statues once located above the northern side entrance of the cathedral, representing a seated Christ enthroned holding a eucharistic chalice and two angels. These were sculpted by Nino and Tommaso Pisano when Andrea Pisano was capomaestro of the *Opera* in Orvieto.<sup>112</sup> The detailed depiction of acanthus friezes on the architrave above the side portals is very similar to the acanthus foliage on the façade capitals attributed by Gillerman to the same workshop responsible for sculpting the pier capitals in the west of the nave. Gillerman attributes this style of acanthus to the workshop of the second master builder, probably Maitani's, which finished the pier capitals in the western end of the nave. Yet the second master's sculpted acanthus on the cathedral

<sup>110</sup> A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, 'Ein Relief aus der Orvietaner Dombauhütte in London', *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Kurt Bauch* (1967), pp. 17, 20.

<sup>111</sup> H. Klotz, 'Deutsche und italienische Baukunst im Trecento', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 12 (1965), pp. 200-201.

<sup>112</sup> A. Lo Presti, *Le arte ad Orvieto. Proposta per un dizionario* (Orvieto 2006), pp. 30-31; L. Luzi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, (Florence 1866), pp. 38, 360-362.

façade is remarkably like the acanthus foliage in the first preparatory drawing for the façade as noted above. It should also be remembered that the artisans responsible for sculpting the more mundane parts of the façade were likely to have been lower ranking members of the workshop and not master builders, which makes it all the more difficult to base a stylistic attribution on samples of acanthus foliage.

The most intriguing detail of this first drawing is however the lunette of the *Madonna and child enthroned* above the main portal (Fig. 39). The Virgin and child sit surrounded by eight adoring angels, two of whom hold back the drapery of the baldachin attached to the regal backrest in a manner almost identical to Arnolfo di Cambio's portrayal of four angels performing the same task in the sculpted decoration of the tympanum above the central portal of the western façade of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence (Fig. 34).<sup>113</sup> Two figures of smaller proportions compared to those of the holy mother and child flank the throne. On the south side of the throne stands a bishop, wearing a mitre and carrying a crosier. He may well represent San Costanzo, Perugia's first bishop and patron saint of Orvieto's cathedral chapter.<sup>114</sup> The figure on the northern side of the throne wears no headdress and carries a staff with the cross of Lorraine, which could identify him as Saint Peter.<sup>115</sup> The placing of Saints Peter and Costanzo on the façade is tantamount to a collective signature placed on the cathedral by its papal, episcopal and chapter initiators. The general figurative composition of the lunette above the central portal is slightly old-fashioned when compared to the sculptural decoration of the same element on contemporary northern gothic portals.<sup>116</sup>

The cathedral of Paris, like that of Orvieto, was dedicated to the Virgin and has a tympanum above the *Portal of Saint Anne* which shows an enthroned Madonna and child under a baldachin, flanked by angels, a bishop and a king of similar composition to the Orvieto drawing (Fig. 41). The king on the Parisian façade is probably the merovingian Childebert I (511-558), thought to be an original founder of Notre-Dame, and opposite him is the bishop of Paris Saint Germain. The tympanum however was

<sup>113</sup> Arnolfo rejects the Orvieto master's use of the high gable-backed throne and attaches the drapery directly to the ogival arch of the tympanum. Possibly the realisation of this high-backed throne with drapes caused Maitani problems, which explains why he switches the backrest for a baldachin. Maitani eventually only cast six angels in bronze drawing back the drapery of the canopy over his marble Madonna. Neri Lusanna (2005), p. 210.

<sup>114</sup> G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence 1965), cc. 318-320, fig. 347.

<sup>115</sup> The double cross, or the cross of Lorraine was authorised to be carried by patriarchs, who were the bishops of the five principal sees of Christendom. Rome was one of these episcopal seats. J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York revised ed. 1979), p. 78.

<sup>116</sup> Gardner (1996), p. 205; Gardner (2005), p. 61.



sculpted more than a century earlier in c.1165.<sup>117</sup> The central tympana on the western façades of Notre-Dame at Paris and Amiens were sculpted with scenes narrating the *Last Judgement*, the side portals were dedicated to the Virgin or to local saints whose relics were held inside the cathedral (Figs. 42, 43).<sup>118</sup> In Orvieto the smaller narrative scenes which appear on the later French tympana have been lowered to the four pier faces at ground level of the façade to facilitate reading their narrative (Fig. 44). Their subject matter is likely to be intrinsically linked to the eucharistic relics held inside the cathedral, much in the same manner as the narrative of the French tympana and the later central tympanum of the *Madonna and child enthroned with Saint Zanobi and Santa Reparata* on the western front of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence (Figs. 33, 34).<sup>119</sup>

The artist's choice to portray the Virgin and child in a high-backed throne with curved arm rests is highly unusual (Fig. 39). As the *titulus* of the Orvieto Cathedral it is fitting that Mary Mother of God should sit above the church's main entrance. She is crowned and seated on a throne fit for the Queen of Heaven, the *sedes sapientiae*.<sup>120</sup> An earlier image of the *sedes sapientiae* located above the main entrance of a cathedral can be found in Verona in the tympanum sculpted by Niccolò (Fig. 45).<sup>121</sup> Another such image was once painted on the apse wall of the Chapel of Saint Nicholas at the Lateran Palace in Rome, where the Virgin and Christ child on the *sedes sapientiae* were portrayed with popes paying homage at her feet (Fig. 46).<sup>122</sup> According to Bornstein, in the tympanum reliefs at Verona Cathedral the *Regina Coeli* was synonymous with Christian Rome and the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>123</sup> This papal imagery portrayed in the Romanesque reliefs in Verona may well have been unknown to those responsible for planning the façade decoration of the cathedral at Orvieto; however, both popes

<sup>117</sup> Sauerländer (1991), pp. 21-22.

<sup>118</sup> The *Last Judgement* (1230 ca.) on the western front of Notre-Dame has the *Portal of S. Anna* (1165 ca.) on its south side and the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1210-c. 1220) to the north. At Amiens the *Last Judgement* is flanked by tympanum dedicated to the Virgin on the south side and to the first bishop of Amiens, *Saint Firmin* and other local saints on the north (1220-c. 1230). Gardner (2005), pp. 59-61; Sauerländer (1991), pp. 22, 206, 209, 214.

<sup>119</sup> Gardner (2005), p. 59; Sauerländer (1997), pp. 121-134.

<sup>120</sup> The *sedes sapientiae* was commonly found in portable Romanesque French wooden statues of the Virgin in Majesty. The throne on which the Virgin is seated in Orvieto leaves little doubt that the iconography was intended to represent the Throne of Wisdom, as the earliest examples of it were lavishly decorated with precious metal and gems. I.H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom. Wood sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton 1972), pp. 8-10.

<sup>121</sup> Bornstein dates the tympanum reliefs to 1139. C. Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the early Italian City State: the Sculpture of Nicholaus in context* (Parma 1988), p. 122.

<sup>122</sup> This political cult image in the Lateran palace may well have been derived from the images of Maria Regina in an icon in Santa Maria in Trastevere and in a wall painting in Santa Maria antiqua. Bornstein (1988), p. 127.

<sup>123</sup> Bornstein (1988), p. 127.

Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII and many members of the papal court would have been highly familiar with the representation – and all its connotations – in the Lateran Palace in Rome.<sup>124</sup> The position of the Christ child standing in the Virgin's lap may also be significant as it has been suggested that this upright position of the child was of French origin and was introduced in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>125</sup>

Cimabue was partial to high backed thrones with rich textiles draped over them, as was Duccio, but neither of them ever attempted such a gothic looking gable which would allow plush folds of material to fall at the Virgin's shoulders, without covering her face.<sup>126</sup> Giotto di Bondone uses a gable-backed throne in his early panel portraying the *Madonna and child enthroned* in the church of San Giorgio alla Costa which is closer in style to the throne in the façade drawing of Orvieto.<sup>127</sup> Neither Duccio's nor Giotto's gable-backed throne in the *Maestà* at both Bern and Florence have circular arm-rests. The most well known and yet enigmatic *Madonna and child* in a curved throne, known as the *Mellon Madonna*, is one of a pair of panels owned by the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC (Fig. 47).<sup>128</sup> It is probably of Byzantine production, from either Greece or Macedonia, although it has also been attributed to both Tuscan

<sup>124</sup> Pope Nicholas IV resided at the Lateran Palace for 11 days while he was pope and Pope Boniface VIII was at the Lateran Palace for 372 days. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), pp. 241-246.

<sup>125</sup> This image of the *sedes sapientiae* with the standing Christ in his mother's lap has been described as reinforcing the adult character of the infant, where Christ becomes wisdom incarnated and his mother fulfils her role as Mediatrix. A. Trotzig, 'The Iconography of the Enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child Standing in Her Lap', *Images of Cult and Devotion. Functions and Reception of Christian images in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. by S. Kaspersen (Copenhagen 2004), pp. 247-248.

<sup>126</sup> Cimabue's *Maestà* for San Francesco in Pisa, for the Lower Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi, for the church of Santa Trinità in Florence and for the Servite church in Bologna, all depict the Madonna and child in high-backed wooden thrones. Duccio produces only one *Maestà* with a gable-backed throne, the small *Madonna and child with angels* in the Kunstmuseum in Bern which dates to the beginning of the 1290s. It is interesting to observe how, similar to the artist of the first preparatory drawing for the Orvietan façade, Duccio emphasised the childlike mannerisms of the young Christ in this panel, modelled on the miraculous panel of the *Madonna and child enthroned* in the church of the Blacherne in Constantinople. The attribution of this panel to Duccio di Buoninsegna is not unanimous, Stubblebine attributes it to a follower of Duccio: the Bern Master. J.H. Stubblebine, 'The Development of the Throne in Dugento Tuscan Painting', *Marsyas*, 7 (1957), pp. 25-39; V.M. Schmidt, 'Madonna col Bambino e angeli', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, exhib. Cat. Siena, Santa Maria della Scala – Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 ottobre 2003 – 11 gennaio 2004 (Milano 2003), cat. Nr.27, pp. 184-187; J.H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his school*, 2 vols. (Princeton 1979), pp. 126-127. Middeldorf Kosegarten sees the *Madonna and child enthroned* surrounded by angels in Orvieto's first façade drawing as a Duccesque motif. Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 69.

<sup>127</sup> This panel has unfortunately been cut down and the throne is incomplete. It was executed slightly later than both the Orvieto drawing and Duccio's *Maestà* in Bern, c. 1295; G. Bonsanti, 'Madonna di San Giorgio alla Costa', *L'arte a Firenze nell'età di Dante. 1250-1300*, ex. Cat., Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia 1 giugno-29 agosto 2004 (Florence-Milan 2004), cat.25, pp. 126-127.

<sup>128</sup> The panel measures 81.5 cm x 49cm. It is made of tempera, gold and gesso on wood. Its provenance is first documented on the Madrid art market in 1912, where it was bought by Lord Duveen, from whom it passed to Carl W. Hamilton, who sold it to Andrew Mellon. The panel is currently housed in the National Gallery of Washington DC in the Andrew W. Mellon collection, inventory number: (1937. I.I.[I]/PA).

and Cypriot workshops and has recently been rather broadly dated to 1275-1300.<sup>129</sup> In past attributions the panel has been more specifically attributed to a workshop from Thessalonike, which increases its relevance to Orvieto because of remarkable iconographic correspondences between the cathedral's extensive *Jesse Tree* relief sculptures and a painted *Jesse Tree*, on the south transept wall of the Church of the Apostles in the same Greek town.<sup>130</sup> Polzer and Belting believe the wooden panel and its counterpart, which was probably produced in the same workshop, were made in Tuscany due to the halo decorations and the high backed wooden throne of the *Kahn Madonna* (Fig. 48).<sup>131</sup> Corrie suggests that the panels are of Paleologan origin, based on the fine features of the Virgins' and angels' faces, and above all to the round-backed throne of the *Mellon Madonna*. The curved throne appears regularly in Byzantine wall paintings after 1261 and its repertoire includes portrayals of the Madonna and child commissioned by members of the Imperial family. Corrie cites an example at Porta Panagia commissioned by the ruler of Thessaly, a vassal of the Byzantine Emperor, shortly before his death in 1289. The use of a rounded throne for Joshua in an imperial Octateuch implies the throne had imperial references, which ties in nicely with the use of the baldachin in the Orvieto composition, which was also an imperial symbol used by the Angevin court.<sup>132</sup> The costumes donned by the angels on the other hand correspond exactly to Serbian painting at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> The panel has been more specifically attributed to a workshop from Thessalonike, which is interesting because of the existence of a *Jesse Tree* wall painting, iconographically comparable to the Orvieto façade *Jesse Tree*, in the church of the Apostles in the same Greek town. R.C. Corrie, 'Madonna and child in curved throne', *Byzantium Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ex. Cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March 23-July 4, 2004 (New York 2004), cat. 286, pp. 476-477; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), pp. 53-61.

<sup>130</sup> Corrie (2004), pp. 476-477; C. Strephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki*, Manuskripte zu Kunstwissenschaft, 7 (Worms 1986), pp. 183-188, fig. 26.

<sup>131</sup> The throne of the *Kahn Madonna* is similar in style to the high-backed wooden throne painted by the San Martino Master (Ugolino di Tedice?) in the *Madonna and child with stories of Jacob and Anna* in the Museo nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, which dates to the 1260s-1270s. L. Carletti, 'Dossale. Madonna col Bambino e storie di Gioacchino ed Anna', *Cimabue a Pisa. La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, Museo nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, 25 marzo-25 giugno 2005 (Pisa 2005), cat.31, pp. 157-161.

<sup>132</sup> An early example of the baldachin being used as an imperial reference is the fresco of Charles I of Anjou enthroned under a canopy in the Sala di Dante of San Gimignano's council palace of the late thirteenth-century. Simone Martini uses a tent-baldachin behind the figure of the Emperor in the chapel of San Martino in the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi in the scene of *St. Martin's Renunciation of Arms* before 1319 and later in his *Maestà* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena the celestial court stands under a canopy bearing the Angevin arms and those of the city and state of Siena, 1315-1316, 1321. Corrie (2004), pp. 476-477; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p.69; C.J. Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290-1320* (Princeton, New Jersey 1997), pp. 34, 44-45, 103-104, 239-240, n.130; A. Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford 1988), pp. 178, 207-208.

<sup>133</sup> Corrie (2004), p. 477.

The artistic personality behind the first preparatory drawing of the Orvieto cathedral façade was responsible for rendering visible his patrons' detailed instructions regarding the ultimate aspect of Orvieto's cathedral façade, the multicultural influences apparent in these specifications support the theory that he depended directly on the papal court (Fig. 26). The apparent ease with which the artist combined such a wide variety of iconographic motifs reveals an artist of exceptional talent with a mind open to inventive solutions; traits which betray an extra-provincial artistic formation. A carved wooden *Madonna and child* in the Museo dell'Opera at Orvieto is a three-dimensional development of the composition described in the drawing of the tympanum above the main portal of the façade (Fig. 49). Apart from the contraposition of the child's upper body, which in the drawing faces out towards the spectator, the wooden statue faithfully copies the figures in the preparatory sketch. The artist's ability to communicate the infantile energy of the Christ child striding nonchalantly across his mother's lap, the similar treatment of drapery, identical costumes and the serene calmness of the Madonna demonstrate that its sculptor probably used the preparatory drawing as his model.<sup>134</sup>

#### The Second Preparatory Drawing for the Façade

The second preparatory drawing in the Museo dell'Opera of Orvieto is similar to the actual cathedral façade (Fig. 27). It lacks the figurative detail presented in the first sketch, possibly because the changes required of its author were mainly architectural rather than decorative.<sup>135</sup> The marked difference lies in the reduced height of the gables over the two side portals and the addition of two lateral gables flanking the rose window at the upper level of the façade.<sup>136</sup> The overall effect is that of a flatter façade with a greatly increased surface area available for mosaic work or paintings.<sup>137</sup> The Orvieto façade loses its individuality in the second preparatory drawing and becomes a derivative of the western front of the cathedral of Siena (Fig. 50). There is a general consensus to attribute the second drawing to Lorenzo Maitani; however, a variety of

<sup>134</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), pp. 92-93.

<sup>135</sup> *Second Preparatory Drawing of the Orvieto Cathedral Façade*, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q3 (19<sup>th</sup> century copy), after 1295.

<sup>136</sup> The greater emphasis on the horizontal line in this second drawing is often explained in terms of influence from Arnolfo di Cambio. White (1959), p. 270; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 43; D.M. Gillerman, 'Cosmopolitanism and *Campanilismo*: Gothic and Romanesque in the Siena Duomo Façade', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXXI, 3 (September 1999), pp. 437-455, p. 450.

<sup>137</sup> A. Martindale, *Gothic Art from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1971), pp. 170-173.

solutions have been suggested regarding its authorship, which is inevitably linked to that of the sculptural work on the façade.<sup>138</sup> Renato Bonelli gently reminded his readers how important it was to bear in mind that the many problems concerning these two preparatory drawings are merely one aspect of a more complex debate aimed at resolving the many questions regarding the origins of the Orvieto façade. He felt that care should be taken not to allow discussion of these two precious documents to overshadow or detract attention from the focus of the argument, which was the façade itself.<sup>139</sup> So said, the first drawing, with all likelihood produced before 1295, bears witness to the presence of a remarkably sophisticated wealthy patronage, which is reflected in this body's discerning choice of artist to plan and realise its ambitious project. A number of the decorative elements planned in this first project were carried through to its actual realisation; however, the second drawing documents a shift in the balance of political powers behind the commission. The more cosmopolitan northern gothic aspect of the first drawing, which hints at the multicultural personalities behind the joint venture initiated by the Church, gives way to a more balanced and moderated gothic style in the second drawing. This second style is reminiscent of Arnolfo di Cambio's work and can be related to the façade of the cathedral of Siena, local monuments which would seem to point to a more local patronage base such as the city Commune (Fig. 48).<sup>140</sup>

In recent studies the first and second preparatory drawings have been dated to c.1295 and after 1295 respectively (Figs. 26, 27).<sup>141</sup> This year is an unusual anchor point, given the political events which were unfolding in the Papal State at the time. Orvieto had always found the neighbouring zone of the Val di Lago an enticing political

<sup>138</sup> Perali, followed by Cellini, attributes the first drawing to Fra Benvegnate di Gubbio, although this idea can now be discarded as the friar was probably responsible for administrative issues only and was unlikely to have had a hand in any of the drawings. P.Perali, 'Le origini del Duomo d'Orvieto (1284-1309)', *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by L.Ricetti (Roma, 1988), pp. 24-25; P.Cellini, 'Fra' Bevegnate e le origini del Duomo di Orvieto', *Paragone*, 99 (March, 1958); R.Bonelli, 'Bevegnate architetto o amministratore?', *Critica d'arte nuova*, 28 (luglio-agosto, 1958); White (1959), p. 258. Carli thinks the author of the first drawing was probably a Sienese artist who has first hand experience of northern gothic architecture and therefore was probably Ramo di Paganello. Carli (1965), p. 13. White, on the other hand, shows that Ramo's reputation as a master sculptor has probably been inflated to unrealistic proportions. White (1959), pp. 256-257. Geza de Francovich suggests that Lorenzo Maitani may have done both drawings; de Francovich (1934), pp. 974-975. This opinion was both accepted and finally dismissed by Renato Bonelli (see note 96 in this chapter).

<sup>139</sup> Bonelli (1972), p. 45.

<sup>140</sup> Arnolfo di Cambio's ciborium in San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome with its characteristic equilateral triangular gables, executed after his tomb for Cardinal Guillaume De Bray and finished in 1285, is a comparison which comes to mind for this second preparatory drawing for the façade of the Cathedral in Orvieto. E. Carli, *Arnolfo* (Firenze 1993), p. 119.

<sup>141</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 19.

and economic morsel, and in fact the city had met cardinal Benedetto Caetani secretly in Viterbo at the beginning of 1293 to negotiate acquiring it in the event he should become pope; in return Orvieto promised not to obstruct any of his papal schemes to claim the Aldobrandeschine county as Caetani territory.<sup>142</sup> But the prolonged procrastination of the cardinals at Viterbo in electing a successor to Nicholas IV had left the Patrimony of Saint Peter leaderless, and Orvieto was unable to resist the opportunity this presented: Orvietan forces attacked the Val di Lago at the end of May in 1294 and the city of Bolsena fell less than a month later on 11 June. The remaining castles in the Val di Lago surrendered two days later. Orvieto, bolstered by its victory, immediately laid siege to Acquapendente. This new enterprise was not so successful, and in the third week of July, the two cities signed an armistice.<sup>143</sup> In the meantime Pietro da Morrone had been elected pope in Perugia on 5 July 1294.<sup>144</sup> The appearance of Celestine V did little to inhibit the Orvietans who proceeded to render official the treaties in which the castles of the Val di Lago recognised their total submission to the city.

The situation changed drastically when Boniface VIII was elected pope in Naples on 24 December 1294.<sup>145</sup> The pope's hopes to obtain the Aldobrandeschi State had been quashed when Margherita Aldobrandeschi had married Orsello Orsini before June 1293.<sup>146</sup> With no family interests to persuade him otherwise, Boniface VIII was outraged by Orvieto's brazen bellicose behaviour. His earlier secret pact forgotten, he confirmed all previous sentences issued by the cardinals against Orvieto and demanded the city's complete obedience by 13 March 1295.<sup>147</sup> Promising negotiations led to cardinal Napoleone Orsini being dispatched to Orvieto to remove the interdict on 6 April 1295. The city proved unremorseful and the cardinal acted accordingly: the interdict remained. All the city's clergy was ordered to leave, including the primary promoter of its new cathedral, bishop Francesco. The city's legal profession was stripped of its power. Boniface commanded the *podestà* and the *capitano del popolo* to his presence before 29 June 1295, otherwise he threatened to eliminate Orvieto's

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<sup>142</sup> Waley (1985), pp.90-91.

<sup>143</sup> Waley (1985), p.93.

<sup>144</sup> Eubel (1960), p.11.

<sup>145</sup> Eubel (1960), p.12.

<sup>146</sup> Waley (1985), p.92.

<sup>147</sup> On 12 April 1294, the cardinals from their conclave in Perugia, had issued a warning to Orvieto that an attack on the towns of the Val del Lago would entail 'ipso facto' an interdict, all its municipal officers and counsellors would be excommunicated, a fine would have to be paid and Orvieto would also lose any rights it had over the area. Orvieto had not heeded the warning and attacked Bolsena under the command of Orsello Orsini at the end of May 1294. D. Waley, 'Pope Boniface VIII and the Commune of Orvieto', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 32 (1950), p.127.

bishopric. On 13 September 1295 the pope transferred Orvieto's bishop Francesco to the see of Florence and didn't bother to nominate a successor to his post.<sup>148</sup> It was only towards the end of 1295, with the unexpected death of Orsello Orsini, Margherita Aldobrandeschi's husband, that Orvieto's future took a turn for the better.<sup>149</sup> Boniface was cautious however, and did not revoke the interdict on the city until the future marriage of his nephew Roffredo Caetani with the Countess Margherita had been established in 1296.<sup>150</sup>

1295 was a difficult year for Orvieto! The city was in open conflict with the papacy for the entire period. This clash resulted in the populace being deprived of its bishop, and could have resulted in it losing its episcopal rights forever. The dramatic climate was not conducive to generous patronage on the part of the Comune for the episcopal church façade, and the papal court was even less likely to support the town's cathedral project.<sup>151</sup> The cosmopolitan nature of the first preparatory drawing for Orvieto's cathedral façade points to a commission from the period 12 June 1290 to 11 October 1291, when the court of Nicholas IV was present in Orvieto.<sup>152</sup> Perhaps it was the tumultuous period of 1295 which provoked the resignation or dismissal of the author of this first project. Alternatively, if the bond between this artist and the papal court of Nicholas IV was as strong as it appears to have been, the pope's death may have caused an irreparable rift in the master builder's relationship with the city. The second drawing on the other hand was possibly produced when the governing representative of Orvieto's populace *I Sette* were basking in the glory of having placated the pope, and possibly coincides with Boniface VIII's parting gifts towards the cathedral project issued in the form of bulls from Bolsena in 1297.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Eubel (1960), p. 250.

<sup>149</sup> Orsello Orsini died unexpectedly in October 1295. His death left the Aldobrandeschi heir a widow once more and Boniface VIII's earlier plans to marry her into the Caetani family became feasible again. Waley (1985), p. 95.

<sup>150</sup> Waley says that Orvieto's absolution coincided with Roffredo Caetani's marriage. The wedding date was probably set when Roffredo became Palatine Count and Rector of the Tuscan Patrimony in March 1296. The marriage ceremony took place in Anagni on 19 September 1296. Waley (1960), pp. 96, 111, n.28.

<sup>151</sup> For a detailed account of the political events and conflict of interests between the papacy and the Comune of Orvieto in 1295, see Waley (1960), pp. 89-116.

<sup>152</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p. 242.

<sup>153</sup> See pp.15-17 of this chapter. This later drawing, infused with more immediate stylistic references from the Siena cathedral façade, is likely to have been produced in a moment when the *popolo* Orvietano was at the height of its power. Orvieto's primary exponent of popular power, the council of *Sette* came into being in the spring of 1292. The date corresponds to the political triumph of the Sienese populace's representative council *il Nove*, which in 1292 became a permanent government institution. Orvieto's council continued to gain popularity and was probably at the height of its prestige during the events of 1295. The subsequent troubles of Boniface VIII which culminated in the astounding events at Anagni

This chapter has established the integral role played by the papacy in residence in planning the cathedral, and has demonstrated the personal interest of both Pope Nicholas IV and Pope Boniface VIII in the project. The presence of these popes, who were residents of Orvieto and elected to office in the city's government, is plainly reflected in the cathedral's documentation. The original floor plan of the cathedral, with its semicircular choir, non-projecting transepts, timber roof and semi-circular side chapels incorporates the general design of early Roman basilicas. In particular, similarities in the prominent use of mosaic work on its façade and the external decoration of the apse and façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, in addition to the unusual structural solution of the semicircular side chapels which could also be seen on the Consistorium of San Giovanni Laterano, make it clear that these two Roman churches, favoured by Nicholas IV, were sources of inspiration for the early project of the cathedral in Orvieto. The first drawing for the cathedral façade was likely to have been produced either during or very shortly after the sojourn of the Franciscan pope in the city. Structural changes clearly show a change of direction in the building project and although the exact time of their execution remains unclear, a possible connection with the second preparatory drawing cannot be ruled out. In this chapter I suggest that this second façade proposal was produced after the reconciliation between Boniface VIII and the Commune of Orvieto after the political tension which lost the city the cathedral's main motivator: Bishop Francesco.



## 2 The Cathedral Façade

The previous chapter was a consideration of the initial project for the cathedral at Orvieto and the two early preparatory drawings for its façade. This chapter narrows the research focus in an examination of the great western front of the cathedral and is essentially a comparative analysis of its mosaics and sculpted relief work. Similar iconographic examples using both these medium are examined in an Italian context and also abroad. French precedents, as well as those from Eastern Europe and further a field, will be used to illustrate the cosmopolitan influences behind the façade's commission and realisation.

The atypical combination of artistic techniques ranging across Orvieto's western façade has long fascinated art historians (Fig. 6). Among all the large metropolitan churches in medieval Italian cities, the only other example comparable in both dimensions and complexity, is that of the Venetian basilica of San Marco (Fig. 67).<sup>1</sup> At San Marco too, sparkling mosaic work is alternated by the chiaroscuro effect of polychromatic relief sculpture around the main portal.<sup>2</sup> The Venetian basilica's bronze equestrian sculptures pillaged from Constantinople are in an elevated position as are Maitani's casts of the four evangelist symbols on the Orvietan façade (Figs. 70, 71). The use of mosaic work on entrance façade surfaces is not of course exclusive to San Marco in Venice or Santa Maria della Stella in Orvieto. One encounters single iconographic episodes depicted on the Tuscan Romanesque façades of San Miniato al Monte in Florence, San Frediano in Lucca, originally in the lunettes over the doors of the façade of the Pisan Cathedral and on the Romanesque façade of the Cathedral of Spoleto in Umbria (Figs. 29, 30, 72).<sup>3</sup> In Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore's extensive

<sup>1</sup> J. Gardner, 'The façade of the Duomo at Orvieto', *De l'art comme mystagogie Iconographique du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*. Actes du Colloque de la fondation Hardt tenu a Genève du 13 au 16 février 1994 (Poitiers 1996), p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> R. Rossi Manaresi, 'Considerazioni Tecniche sulla scultura monumentale policromata, romanica e gotica', *Bollettino d'arte*, supplemento 41 (1987), p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> The church of San Miniato al Monte on the hill in Florence included an apartment which was owned by the bishop of Florence and once Francesco became bishop of Florence, he may well have stayed there. The higher zone of the façade of San Miniato al Monte was built in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The mosaic below probably dates to the 1130s and may well have been executed by a Byzantine master who had worked in Palermo, Rome or Venice. The Assumption of the Virgin on the façade of San Frediano in Lucca was a thirteenth-century production, which although may have been planned earlier was not executed until the second half of the century. The figure of the Virgin was substituted with a window during the 1827 restoration of the façade. G. Tigler, *Toscana Romanica* (Milan 2006), pp. 118, 162. The mosaic of the Assumption of the Virgin with 'more than one angel at her side' over the central door of the Pisan Cathedral was signed and dated by the painter Vicino in April 1328: «*Vincinus pictor fecit istas figuras ad opus muzaticum anni Domini MCCCXXVIII, de mense Aprilis, tempore domini Johannis Rossi Operarii istius Ecclesie*». The mosaics above the two side portals were both executed after the beginning of the fifteenth century. G. Trenta, *I Musaici del Duomo di Pisa e I loro autori*

program of façade mosaics was probably initiated by cardinal Giacomo Colonna and his younger brother Pietro after Nicholas IV's death in April 1292 (Fig. 73).<sup>4</sup> Mosaic work originally on the exterior walls of Santa Maria Maggiore's apse can however be linked to both the elder Colonna cardinal and the Franciscan Pope (Fig. 74). The unusual position for these mosaics alludes to Nicholas IV's predilection for the medium and was probably influenced by the fact that the apse end of Santa Maria Maggiore faced out towards the city.<sup>5</sup> As a result, Roman citizens could effortlessly admire the glittering portrayal of the Virgin and Child surrounded by standing female saints.<sup>6</sup> In a similar manner the sparkling mosaics on the Orvieto Cathedral façade, which lorded over the Orvietan contado, would have attracted visitors from afar (Figs. 2, 6). It is interesting to note however that on 4 December 1359, Andrea Orcagna furnished his supplier don Nino di Guilielmo di Firenze with a list of glass to be purchased in Venice and another mosaicist at Orvieto, fra Giovanni Leonardelli went to Venice in person to obtain supplies in 1362 and possibly again in 1363.<sup>7</sup> These documents demonstrate that Venice remained the recognised centre for obtaining specialized materials for mosaic work at least until the 1360s.<sup>8</sup>

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(Florence 1896), pp. 51-57; D. Gillerman, 'Cosmopolitanism and Campanilismo: Gothic and Romanesque in the Siena Duomo Facade', *Art Bulletin*, 81 (September 1999), p. 440.

<sup>4</sup> Gardner suggests that Santa Maria Maggiore's facade mosaics were probably begun in 1292-1293 and were finished before mid-1297. This date has been contested by Tomei who proposes a later date of 1306-1308 for them. J. Gardner, 'Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36 (1973), pp. 22, 28; A. Tomei, 'Il ciclo vetero e neotestamentario di S. Maria in Vescovio', *Roma Anno 1300*, Atti della IV settimana di studi della Storia dell'Arte Medievale dell'Università di Roma «La Sapienza» 19-24 May 1980, ed. by A. M. Romanini (Rome 1983), p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> It is striking that the first Franciscan Pope in history should have such luxurious aesthetic taste. Mosaic work closely followed the work of goldsmiths in the expense of its materials and the sheer size of the surfaces to be covered in glass tiles could result in costly payments which exceeded even the most lavish reliquaries. Before becoming Pope, Nicholas IV had spent time in Constantinople, a city known for its sumptuous artistic decoration, where he may have acquired a taste for mosaics.

<sup>6</sup> The exterior apse mosaics were destroyed during work on the apse during the pontificate of Clement X (1667-1669). A scene portraying the Adoration of the Magi was located under the representation of the Madonna and Child. J. Gardner (1973), p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> The name of the supplier reported by Milanesi is don Nino di Guilielmo da Fiorenze. Harding repeats Fumi who calls him Donnino di Guglielmo di Firenze. Today the title "don" is used as a title of respect when placed before the name of members of the clergy. In the past it was used before the names of members of the aristocracy. *Dizionario Italiano con sinonimi e contrari*, Garzanti (Milan 2003). The two documents referring to materials acquired in Venice by Fra Giovanni Leonardelli are dated 26 November 1362 and 1 June 1363. C. Harding, 'The Production of Medieval Mosaics: The Orvieto Evidence', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), pp. 76, 79-80, 93, 97; G. Milanesi, *Sulla Storia dell'Arte Toscana. Scritti vari* (Siena 1878, new edition 1973), pp. 240-241; L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Rome 1891), p. 122, XLIII. Fra Giovanni di Buccio Leonardelli, documented as a friar of the third order of San Francesco in the year 1369 and 1370, is mentioned by Fumi regarding restoration of the windows in the tribune of the cathedral in 1367, and can possibly be identified with frate Giovanni Leonardelli who was called to work on the stained glass in the cathedral in 1328. Fumi (1891), pp. 104, 193, 200.

<sup>8</sup> Harding (1989), p. 80.

### The Façade Mosaics

The largest expanse of mosaic work on the Orvieto cathedral façade is the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin on its highest central gable (Fig. 6). The existing iconography however is a nineteenth-century program, probably inspired by the original decorative programme outlined in the first drawing of the cathedral façade held in the Museo dell'Opera of Orvieto (Fig. 75).<sup>9</sup> This surface initially portrayed the Resurrection of Christ, which was the final mosaic to be completed on the Orvieto façade.<sup>10</sup> Iconographic correspondences between the western face of today's cathedral at Orvieto and the first drawing of the planned façade in Orvieto's Museo dell'Opera are therefore likely to be deceptive (Figs. 6, 26). The history of the mosaics portrayed in the gable at the apex of the Orvieto façade clearly highlights that despite correspondences between the first preparatory drawing and the actual façade, the original iconographic programme for the façade was considerably tampered with over the duration of its realisation.<sup>11</sup> It would seem that the first figurative work to be executed in mosaic was Orcagna's Baptism of Christ situated in the lower left hand gable on the façade.<sup>12</sup> Harding explains this choice of subject matter, which breaks from the traditional Marian cycle of the mosaics, by suggesting that the mosaic was linked to the cathedral's function as a baptistery, and points out that the baptismal font was situated inside the

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<sup>9</sup> The sorry state of the original mosaic of the *Resurrection* resulted in it being replaced by the Coronation of the Virgin. The change in subject matter was desired by the Orvietan cardinal Gualterio, who had evidently been inspired by Lanfranco's canvas of the same subject in the altar of the Marescotti chapel in the Carmelite church in Orvieto. The mosaic was begun on 3 October 1713 and on 30 May 1714 was ceremoniously unveiled to the general public. The Coronation of the Virgin was renewed again between 1842 and 1847 based on a copy of Sano di Pietro's fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin originally located on the ground floor of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico and a wooden panel of the subject by the same artist. Fumi (1891), pp. 112, 114; Harding, 43 (1989), p. 75, n.22.

<sup>10</sup> Fumi attributes the Resurrection to the mosaicist Francesco di Rinaldo siciliano, who was in Orvieto from 1506 to 1522. Despite contemporary documents declaring the general misgivings of the Sicilian mosaicist's artistic competence, Fumi states that the façade gable had been put in place during this period and the *Opera* had little choice but to concede the commission to the Sicilian. Fumi cites a document from the cathedral *Opera* which clearly states: «*non confidet in dictum magistrum Franciscum pro nichilo*». Fumi (1891), p. 109. Catherine Harding dates the mosaic work of the *Resurrection* from 1450 to 1587. Harding (1989), p. 75, n.22.

<sup>11</sup> Today's mosaics on the Orvieto cathedral façade narrate episodes from the life of the Virgin. The horizontal storyline proceeds from left to right across the lateral gable surfaces: The Annunciation to Anna, is followed by the Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple and the Marriage of Mary and Joseph. The two central gable depictions follow the three dimensional depiction of the Virgin enthroned in the vertical narration of the Assumption and the Incoronation. A representation of the Baptism of Christ on the lower north gable breaks the Marian iconography and can probably be related to the cathedral's baptismal font which lies inside the nave just beyond the north lateral portal. Work began on laying the figurative mosaics during the late 1350's and proceeded to 1390 when, with the exclusion of the Resurrection in the highest gable, most mosaics were complete. The colourful inlay decorating the architecture was probably applied between 1321 and 1345. Harding (1989), pp. 74-75.

<sup>12</sup> On 14 June 1348 signed a contract as *capomaestro* at the Opera del Duomo in Orvieto. Andrea Orcagna was working on the mosaic in 1359. Harding (1989), p. 75; R. Offner, 'Andrea Orcagna', *A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, IV, I (New York 1962), pp. 13-19. G. Kreytenberg, *Orcagna. Andrea di Cione* (Mainz 2000), pp. 22-23, 187-188.

church directly beyond the left portal entranceway.<sup>13</sup> An additional reason in support of inserting John the Baptist as a subject in the façade iconographical programme can be linked to the Corpus Christi relics held inside the cathedral.<sup>14</sup> We should remember that among the major catholic feasts, only Christmas fell on a fixed date within the liturgical year, the other feast days – including that of Corpus Christi – were determined by the lunar calendar. The last possible date on which the feast of the Corpus Christi could fall was 24 June, which was also the most important feast day for the birth of John the Baptist.<sup>15</sup>

The representation of the Coronation of the Virgin in the first preparatory façade drawing can be taken as evidence that from the early planning stages of the cathedral the gable surfaces were intended as narrative fields and, with all likelihood, were to be executed in mosaic work (Fig. 75).<sup>16</sup> This analysis is further supported by the decoration sketched in over the side portals of the first preparatory façade drawing (Fig. 76). One difference between the original planned façade and the actual structure apparent today was that the original surfaces above the two side entrances were replaced by windows. Unfinished figurative sketches on these surfaces in the first façade drawing show that they were originally a part of the overall iconographic programme. One can only speculate as to the intended compositions including the bishop and a secondary unidentifiable figure over the north portal and the angel which appears to be supporting the bust of a supine figure.

Contemporary medieval compositions which include figures in corresponding positions to the angel and the figure it supports are representations of the *Dormitio Virginis*, such as the earlier example on the western façade of Notre-Dame in Paris (Fig. 35).<sup>17</sup> If the intended iconography, illustrated in the first preparatory drawing for the

<sup>13</sup> Harding (1989), p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> Ugolino di Vieri's Reliquary of the Holy Corporal was placed inside the Chapel of the Corporal located in the north transept of the cathedral. The chapel's location is therefore situated on the same north side of the church as the mosaic of John the Baptist above the north side portal on the cathedral's façade, which may be influenced by the possible coincidence of the Baptist's major feast day with the celebration feast of the Corpus Christi. G. Freni, 'The reliquary of the Holy Corporal in the cathedral of Orvieto: patronage and politics', *Art, Politics and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261-1352*, ed. by J. Cannon and B. Williamson (Cambridge 2000), pp. 117-177; E. Cioni, *Scultura e smalto nell'Oreficeria Senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Firenze 1998), pp. 469-621.

<sup>15</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (London 2005), p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Harding (1989), p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Arnolfo's *Dormitio Virginis* from the lunette in the same position above the south portal of the western façade on Santa Maria del Fiore is unfortunately incomplete. The position of the Virgin is identical to the Orvieto sketch, however it is impossible to say whether the figure supporting her head and shoulders was an angel or an apostle. A good copy of Bernardino Poccetti's drawing was executed by Alessandro Nani in the seventeenth century and is illustrated in the catalogue from the Florentine exhibition on

façade, was indeed a *Dormitio Virginis*, it is interesting to note the same Marian episode used by Arnolfo di Cambio in the lunette above the side portal of the Florentine cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore (Figs. 33, 77). The correspondence may indicate that the original decoration above the side portals in Orvieto was also intended to be sculpted, rather than executed in mosaic.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately the figure which once supported the upper torso of the Virgin in Florence has disappeared, however the *Dormitio Virginis* painted by the Florentine artist Giotto di Bondone, now held in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, may well have been inspired by Arnolfo's representation (Figs. 78, 79). Certainly Giotto's angel bowed over the bust of the Virgin is reminiscent of the figures drawn in above the north portal in the first drawing for the Orvieto façade (Fig. 26, 76).<sup>19</sup>

### The Sculpted Reliefs

The four pilasters flanking the west portals of the Orvieto cathedral are covered with sculpted reliefs of narrative scenes depicting the *Genesis*, the *Tree of Jesse*, scenes from the *New Testament* and the *Last Judgement* (Fig. 44). It is this vast narrative sculpted programme which distinguishes Orvieto from other contemporary Italian cathedral façades. The façade of the Sienese cathedral, which so obviously shares Orvieto's six gabled composition, differs remarkably in the lavishness of its three dimensional incrustations.

The Orvieto façade was certainly not the first to employ sculpted relief work. The portals of French gothic cathedrals regularly included sculpted reliefs. Both the Judgement Portal on the West façade of Notre-Dame, Paris and the Portal of St. Etienne on its south transept have thirteenth-century reliefs at the lower levels of their decorative programmes (Figs. 51, 31).<sup>20</sup> The west façade of the Cathedral of St. Etienne in Auxerre has narrative reliefs of *Stories from the Genesis* on the jamb socles of the

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Arnolfo in 2006. R. Roani, 'Alessandro Nani (sec. XVII) (copia da Bernardino Poccetti)', *Arnolfo alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, ex. Cat. Museo dell'Opera Santa Maria del Fiore, Firenze 21 December 2005 – 21 April 2006 (Firenze 2005), pp. 354-355.

<sup>18</sup> For the most recent reconstruction of Arnolfo di Cambio's façade at Santa Maria del Fiore see: E. Neri Lusanna, 'Venustus et Honorabilis Templum', *Arnolfo alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, ex. Cat. Museo dell'Opera Santa Maria del Fiore, Firenze 21 December 2005 – 21 April 2006 (Firenze 2005), pp. 201-223.

<sup>19</sup> Although there are angels present in Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Dormitio Virginis* in the oculus of the Sienese cathedral, it is an apostle (Saint Peter?) who supports the upper torso of the Virgin. St. Peter is also found at the head of the early fourteenth-century Byzantine composition of the *Dormitio Virginis* in the Naos of the Kariye Camii. D. Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (London 1963), pp. 223-233.

<sup>20</sup> The sculpture on the *Last Judgement* portal on the west front of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris dates to c.1230. W. Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140-1270* (Munich 1970), p.179; Sauerländer (1991), p. 207.

north portal which date to c.1270 (Fig. 52).<sup>21</sup> Sculpted reliefs can also be found flanking the *Portail des Libraires* on the north transept of the cathedral of Rouen, (1280-1290) (Fig. 53).<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that scenes from the *Genesis* are common to the decorative programmes at Auxerre, Rouen and Lyon, although the narrative content is remarkably reduced when compared to the Orvietan *Genesis* reliefs (Figs. 54, 55).<sup>23</sup>

Generally speaking, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French three-dimensional narrative campaigns, located in the lower zones of a façade, tended to be intrinsically linked to the portals themselves, and as such the sculptural composition developed around the central point of these arched doorways.<sup>24</sup> The location of Maitani's bronze and marble *Maestà* in the lunette above the main portal of Orvieto cathedral is therefore easily understood in terms of decorative programmes on French gothic façades (Fig. 56). By using the façade pilasters as grounds for the reliefs at Orvieto, its designers made a deliberate choice to prioritise public accessibility and didactic straightforwardness, deviating from the precedents of French models (Fig. 57). It is true that the aforementioned French base reliefs are situated close to ground level on the decorative programmes of the portals, and this too was undoubtedly the result of conscious decision-making, prioritising the didactic role of the narrative. After all, the closer the viewer was to the artwork, the more likely s/he was to see it and subsequently contemplate its message. It is the choice of surface area for the application of the reliefs and the way in which the narrative is developed over that surface which denotes a remarkable cultural difference.

### Italian Precedents for the Reliefs

There are Italian precedents for the use of reliefs on the façades of Romanesque churches. Examples of exceptional quality and beauty are the early twelfth-century Romanesque reliefs by Wiligelmo which flank the main portal of the Cathedral of Modena (Figs. 58, 59). There is some debate as to whether these scenes were originally

<sup>21</sup> Sauerländer (1970), pp. 179-180.

<sup>22</sup> J. Gardner (1996), p. 203; P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (London 1995), p. 167.

<sup>23</sup> The *Creation* is narrated in eight episodes on the western façade of the cathedral at Lyon, where Girolamo d'Ascoli would have been able to admire them after he had arrived at the second council of Lyon directly from the Paleologan Court in Constantinople. Gardner (1997), p.2. It is interesting to note that despite being employed alongside Teobaldo Visconti as secretary to the papal legate to England, Ottobuono Fieschi, there is no record of Benedetto Caetani being employed by Gregory X during his papacy, and his name does not appear in any records of the second council of Lyon. Boase (1933), p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> In the decoration of the *Portal of Saint-Firmin* on the west front of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Amiens the statue-columns below the tympanum portray local saints and in the lunette itself, the story of a local fellow, saint Firmin, is narrated in greater detail. Sauerländer (1991), pp. 214-215.

situated on the cathedral façade.<sup>25</sup> Originally these scenes were probably situated in a kind of frieze reading from left to right across the front of the cathedral and, in a less complex manner, illustrated those same Stories of the Genesis sculpted more than a century later for the Cathedral of Orvieto.<sup>26</sup>

The reliefs at the sides of the west porch of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona are closer to the Orvieto cycle than the Modena frieze (Figs. 60, 61).<sup>27</sup> Moreover, in the middle ages they were complemented by a painting of the Last Judgement in the tympanum of the façade.<sup>28</sup> Nicolò's reliefs read vertically from the base scenes upwards, just as those at Orvieto.<sup>29</sup> What is more, the reliefs which flank the porch of San Zeno are divided into two cycles: on the north side are *Stories from the New Testament* and on the south is the *Genesis* from the Old Testament. In the representation of the Creation of Man in the Old Testament cycle, Adam is sculpted in front of a stylised Tree of Life, which helps to establish the precise moment of the narration: Adam is shown being infused with life (Fig. 62). The Tree of Life – a symbol of Christ, the Crucifixion and the New Adam – may have been borrowed from byzantine or near eastern textiles or reliefs, or taken from Venetian examples in the reliefs of San Marco.<sup>30</sup> Both of these narrative cycles from the Old and New Testaments occur in more extended versions on the pilasters at Orvieto (Fig. 57, 63). Bornstein claims that this juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes was derived from the lost cycle along the nave walls of Old St. Peter's, where the Old Testament narrative balanced the christological cycle on the opposite wall. According to him, the Salerno ivories, which

<sup>25</sup> Quintavalle has suggested that perhaps the Genesis reliefs were once situated inside the church. A.C. Quintavalle, *Wiligelmo e Matilde. L'officina romanica* (Milan 1991), pp. 170-194.

<sup>26</sup> Four reliefs narrate the story of the Genesis from the Creation to Noah's Ark. These panels were probably carved by Wiligelmo before 1110, perhaps before 1106. R. Salvini, *Il Duomo di Modena*, (Modena/Milan 1972), pp. 188-219; C. Frugoni, 'Le lastre veterotestamentarie e il programma della facciata', *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: Il Duomo di Modena*, ex. Cat. eds. E. Castelnuovo, V. Fumagalli, A. Peroni, S. Settis (Modena 1984), p. 440.

<sup>27</sup> The reliefs on the facade of the Church of San Zeno Maggiore bear the signatures of the sculptors Nicholaus and Guglielmus, and Kain dates those flanking the door to the mid-twelfth century. Sauerländer agrees with this later date, which traditionally was given to 1138. Guglielmus signed the scenes from the New Testament and the remaining work is generally attributed to Nicholaus. C.B. Verzar, 'Verona: San Zeno Maggiore', *Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner, 32 (New York 1996), pp. 344-345. E. Kain, 'An analysis of the marble reliefs on the façade of S. Zeno, Verona,' *Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), p. 373; W. Sauerländer, 'Nicholaus e l'arte del suo tempo', *Nicholaus e l'arte del suo tempo*, Atti del seminario tenutosi a Ferrara, 21-24 September 1981, ed. A.M. Romanini, 3 vols. (Ferrara 1985), I, p.77.

<sup>28</sup> The Last Judgement adopts Byzantine iconography and is developed along a horizontal plane, as opposed to the vertical narrative of the same subject on the later Orvietan cathedral façade. J. Baschet, *Les Justices de l'au-delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – XVe siècle)* (Rome 1993), p. 208, fig. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Bornstein (1988), pp. 138-145, 148.

<sup>30</sup> Bornstein strongly suggests the Tomb of Doge Falier (c. 1096) and Dogaresse Felicitas Michiel (c. 1101) in San Marco as being a source for the Tree of Life iconography used by Niccolò in Verona. Bornstein (1988), p. 149.

were originally intended to form an inner door for the entrance to the sanctuary in Salerno Cathedral, also drew their narrative scenes from the same iconographic source. In both Verona and Salerno the iconography aimed at establishing a clear relationship between the churches concerned and papal Rome.<sup>31</sup> One could argue that the same relationship with Papal Rome is clearly being upheld in the iconography on the cathedral façade in Orvieto.

Another peculiarity of the *New Testament* reliefs at Verona is that the bottom two panels of narration have been subdivided to allow more scenes to be illustrated in the normal space of two (Fig. 64). This same act of subdivision takes place in the three base panels of the Orvieto *Genesis*, where nine narrative sequences are shown in smaller scenes (Fig. 57). The closer the narrative was to the eye of the viewer, the less space was required to convey its message. It is also interesting to note that apart from these two lower panels on both façades, the narrative scenes are organized horizontally in groups of two and all cycles at both Orvieto and Verona are to be read left to right starting from the lower scenes and proceeding upwards.<sup>32</sup>

Examples of façade reliefs can also be found on the Cathedral of Genoa and San Marco in Venice (Figs. 88, 67).<sup>33</sup> Late twelfth-century reliefs can be found sculpted at the sides of the main door of the church of S. Pietro in the Umbrian town of Spoleto, which is closer to Orvieto in geographic terms (Fig. 65). The illustrations of *Proverbs* and *Stories from the life of St. Peter* are set within rectangular frames and, similar to the reliefs at Orvieto (and Verona), are placed in vertical sequence until the level of the lowest cornice of the façade of the church (Fig. 66). Gillerman stresses the importance of this church in Spoleto because of the large amount of surface area occupied by its

<sup>31</sup> Bornstein (1988), p. 148.

<sup>32</sup> Of course this comparison between the façade reliefs of the Church of San Zeno in Verona and the Orvietan cathedral reliefs is a lot less convincing if in fact the Romanesque reliefs from Verona were not originally designed for the façade. If indeed these reliefs originally adorned the choir-screen of San Zeno, just as has been suggested for Willigelmo's *Genesis* reliefs now on the façade of the cathedral in Modena, then the comparison between the two Italian Romanesque façades and the later Gothic façade in Orvieto – although still instructive in its corresponding iconography – is less pertinent to our study of church façades. E. Kain, 'The Marble Reliefs on the Façade of S. Zeno, Verona', *The Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), p. 371; A.C. Quintavalle, *Willigelmo e la sua scuola* (Florence 1967), pp. 13-14, 39.

<sup>33</sup> The relief panels of the Tree of Jesse to the right and of Stories from the Infancy of Christ on the left of the main entrance door of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa date to c.1220-1230. C. Di Fabio, 'Geografia e forme della scultura in Liguria', *La scultura a Genoa e in Liguria*, 3 vols. (Genoa 1987-1989), I, pp. 87-129. The facade began to assume its current 'plastic' shape from the second quarter of the thirteenth century on. The mosaic illustrating the west facade above the Porta Sant'Alipio dates to 1267 and testifies that most of the sculptural decoration on the western facade of San Marco was already in place by this time. The six icons of the west facade, two of which were Greek spoils are already part of the facade decoration as are the first and second arches of the central porch. O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington 1960), pp. 100, 208.



reliefs and because of its closeness in geographical terms to the Duomo of Orvieto.<sup>34</sup> While these are relevant arguments, I feel that the importance of the reliefs on both façades of San Zeno and the Duomo of Modena should not be undervalued. The similarities between the reliefs at Verona and those of Orvieto have been discussed above. Wiligelmo's reliefs are not only situated on the main façade of the cathedral but also narrate the *Genesis* cycle. Unlike Verona, which was a little off the beaten track unless one was specifically travelling in the Veneto, Modena was a wealthy northern town along one of the principal routes leading from Northern Europe to Rome. As such its artwork was probably more likely to have been known to cosmopolitan artists and/or patrons, a number of whom can be linked to the cathedral of Orvieto, than that on the façade of the church of St. Peter in Spoleto. Other more modest examples of mosaics being combined with sculpture can be found on thirteenth-century churches, a central Italian model being that of Civit  Castellana.<sup>35</sup> These Italian examples provide evidence that less complex Romanesque precedents for the façade reliefs on the Orvieto cathedral did indeed exist, however their iconographic and stylistic differences, in addition to their size, make it unlikely that they could have been direct inspiration for Orvieto's sculptural cycles.

Alongside the Romanesque examples in bronze and sculpted stone relief work on the façade of the cathedral of San Zeno in Verona, there are two other ecclesiastic sites which share a large amount of the iconographic material displayed on the pilasters of the cathedral façade in Orvieto. Both the basilica of San Marco in Venice and the baptistery of Florence contain relatively extensive contemporary mosaic cycles of the *Genesis*, New Testament and the Last Judgement (Fig. 89).<sup>36</sup> The basilica of San Marco also has a sixteenth-century mosaic of the Jesse Tree above the entrance to the chapel dedicated to Sant'Isidoro at the end of the left transept.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately no documents remain to clarify whether the work was restorative in nature and repeated earlier

<sup>34</sup> D.M. Gilleran, 'La facciata: introduzione al rapporto tra scultura e architettura', *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by L. Ricetti (Rome, 1988) (pp. 81-100), pp. 86-87, figs. 5 and 6.

<sup>35</sup> J. Gardner (1996), p. 202.

<sup>36</sup> The *Genesis* cycle executed in mosaic work in the early thirteenth century is situated in the first cupola, south of the main entrance in the atrium of San Marco in Venice. Mosaics representing scenes from the New Testament were set under the central and western cupolas, but also on the façade. O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London 1947), pp. 67-73. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Chicago and London 1984), I, pp. 336-337, 340. Tigler referring to Boskovits dates the mosaic work in the Baptistry of San Giovanni in Florence to the second half of the thirteenth century. Tigler (2006), p.144.

<sup>37</sup> J. Manna, 'L'"albero di Jesse" nel Medioevo italiano un problema di iconografia', Banca Dati *Nuovo Rinascimento* <http://www.nuovorinascimento.org>, 21 July 2001, p. 115; E. Merkel, 'I mosaici del Cinquecento veneziano', *Fondazione Giorgio Cini – Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, 20 (1996), p. 104.

mosaics of the same subject. It is tantalising to note that the actual chapel of Sant'Isidoro was erected between 1354 and 1356, however, its entrance portal is decorated by thirteenth-century relief work illustrating the Legend of Balaam which may well have been part of the original decorative program situated on the end wall of the transept.<sup>38</sup>

Julian Gardner draws our attention to the variety of media used in combination with the relief work on the façade of Orvieto and comments that such combinations of bronze sculpture, mosaic scenes and relief sculpture can be found at San Marco in Venice, an important early thirteenth-century façade project (Figs. 67, 68).<sup>39</sup> The Basilica of San Marco had a façade which was the epitome of mixed media, the Venetians had commissioned vast programmes of mosaics and sculpted reliefs and they had even managed to bring home some astounding bronze equestrian sculpture after ransacking Constantinople in 1204 (Fig. 70). They had proudly placed this on the front of the city's church. Bishop Francesco of Orvieto would have admired this when he was papal legate to Venice for Nicholas IV in 1291. On this occasion he bore a letter from the Pope dated 13 August 1291 for the Doge and the Senate of the Republic asking the city state to renew its peace treaties with Genoa in the interests of the Pope's crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>40</sup>

### Polychromatic Façades

It is undeniable that when Bishop Francesco saw the Basilica of San Marco at the end of the thirteenth century he must have been overwhelmed by its brilliance and colour (Fig. 68). Of course a basilica, cathedral or church did not necessarily have to be covered in mosaic work at the end of the thirteenth century for it to have been strikingly colourful. Recent analysis of the decorative programmes around the portals of the important cathedrals of France indicates that many of these were in fact polychromatic.<sup>41</sup> This

<sup>38</sup> The same Legend of Balaam can be found represented in the tympanum of the south portal of the Baptistery of Parma. The coexistence of Tree of Jesse iconography and the Legend of Balaam representation at Parma further supports the theory that the Venetian sixteenth century Tree of Jesse may well be a renovation of a previously existing Tree of Jesse iconography. Manna (2001), pp. 97, 115-116.

<sup>39</sup> J. Gardner (1996), p. 202.

<sup>40</sup> F. Macchioni, *Storia civile e religiosa di Bagnoregio dai tempi antichi sino all'anno 1503* (Viterbo 1956), p. 229; A. Divinziani, 'Francesco Monaldeschi Vescovo di Orvieto e di Firenze', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 22 (1966), p. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Rossi Manaresi cites the precise instructions and penalties, contained in the rules and regulations of a number of painters' corporations, regarding the painting of sculptures in Medieval Europe. Specific reference is made to polychromatic sculpture in France in the *Livre des Métiers* of 1268, by the Parisian provost Etienne Boileau. The manuscript documents the severe regulations governing both apprenticeships and the execution of artworks at the gothic cathedral building site. The directives were not only intended for sculptors and stonecutters, but were also directed at the painters whose task it was to

must also have been the case in Italy, as the polychromatic relief decoration of the *Last Judgement* on the tympanum and architrave of the Romanesque façade of the Cathedral in Ferrara would seem to indicate.<sup>42</sup> In Venice, examination of the thirteenth-century relief decoration on the central portal of the west façade of San Marco have revealed that it too was polychromatic.<sup>43</sup> For examples of fourteenth-century polychromatic relief sculptures one has only to think of the work of the Sienese sculptor and *capomaestro* Tino di Camaino, traces of red paint can still be observed in the deeper crevices carved into the marble of his *funeral monument to Cardinal Petroni* in the south transept of the Cathedral of Siena. These examples of relief sculptures, which certainly would have been polychromatic at the time the Orvietan cathedral was being decorated, leads to the inevitable question: were the reliefs on the pilasters at Orvieto also multicoloured? Of course until traces of paint are actually found on the sculptures on the pilasters one can simply make a calculated guess. The fact that many contemporary sculptural programmes destined for church decoration were polychromatic stands to support an argument that the marble reliefs on the Cathedral of Orvieto were originally to be completed by a coloured finish.

The 1980s restoration of the *Maestà* from the lunette above the main portal of the cathedral in Orvieto revealed that the marble sculpture of the *Virgin and child* originally had colour and gold leaf applied to it and that even the bronze elements of the composition had been polychromatic at one stage (Figs. 38, 40).<sup>44</sup> Both the bronze architrave signed by Rubeus and the bronze canopy and angels from the *Maestà* composition had once been decorated with gold leaf and coloured enamel work (Fig. 69).<sup>45</sup> This enamelling technique was at times superimposed over the precious metal, resulting in the vibrant precious colour effect of translucent enamelling favoured by Sienese goldsmiths.<sup>46</sup> Orvieto's polychromatic bronzes were not the only such examples,

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render the sculptures polychromatic. Technical examinations of sculpted portals on the French cathedrals at Bourges, Chartres, Laon and Strasbourg have all revealed original polychromy. R. Rossi Manaresi, 'Considerazioni tecniche sulla scultura monumentale policromata, romanica e gotica', *Bollettino d'Arte*, supplemento 41 (1987), pp. 173-176; M. Aubert, *Trionfo del Gotico* (Milano 1964), pp. 71, 74.

<sup>42</sup> The *Last Judgement* reliefs were possibly executed by an anonymous French sculptor, or by a sculptor who had had contact with the sculptural workshops of Chartres, Reims e Notre-Dame. Rossi Manaresi (1987), p. 174.

<sup>43</sup> L. Lazzarini, 'I rilievi degli arconi dei portali della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia: ricerche tecnico-scientifiche', *Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig* (München 1979), pp. 58-65.

<sup>44</sup> *La cattedrale di Orvieto Santa Maria Assunta in cielo*, ed. by G. Testa (Rome, 1990), pp. 144-151.

<sup>45</sup> A.M. Romanini, 'I colori di San Pietro', *Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz 70, Geburtstag Aachener Kunstblätter des Museumsvereins*, 60 (1994), p. 267.

<sup>46</sup> Guccio di Manaia used this enamelling technique on the chalice he made for Nicholas IV, in the treasury of the Basilica di San Francesco in Assisi and one of the most extraordinary examples of this technique for its sheer opulence, is the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal completed by the Sienese

traces of colour were also applied to the bronze statue of Saint Peter from the Oratory of San Martino annexed to the Basilica of San Pietro in Rome.<sup>47</sup> The colouring of bronzes, described by Pliny the Elder in *Naturalis Historia*, was evidently common practice in ancient Roman sculpture and was evidently revived in Rome and the Papal States at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Arnolfo di Cambio, who was also working in Central Italy in the same time frame, used exactly the same technique as that employed on the medieval bronzes to colour his marble funeral monuments for Cardinal Guillaume De Bray (d. 1282) in the Dominican church in Orvieto, Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi (d. 1289) at San Giovanni in Laterano and Pope Boniface VIII (d. 1303) originally in the Basilica of San Pietro in Rome (Figs. 19, 20).<sup>49</sup> It is curious to note that Arnolfo's first known employment of this colouring technique appears in his work in Orvieto, where Rubeus's polychromatic bronzes on the portal of the south wall of the Orvieto Cathedral provided a precedent. Did Arnolfo learn this technique in Orvieto? If this were the case, he most certainly spent some time in Orvieto prior to completing his commission of the De Bray sepulchre.

The evidence gleaned from the restoration of the façade sculptures produced in Maitani's workshop seems to further strengthen the theory that the façade reliefs were also intended to be polychromatic (Fig. 44). White's studies, published in 1959, revealed that the reliefs had never been completely finished.<sup>50</sup> The 1979-80 restoration of the reliefs, which allowed for closer examination of the sculptural techniques used on the pilasters, confirmed White's observations.<sup>51</sup> Because the unfinished zones of sculpted reliefs were in the higher region of the piers and as painter's workshops, unlike those of a master sculptor, tended to apply the paint in the inferior areas last in order to avoid mishaps of paint spillage on already finished work below, the sculptural

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goldsmith Ugolino di Vieri and his workshop in 1338 for the Cathedral in Orvieto. E. Cioni, *Scultura e Smalto nell'Oreficeria Senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Firenze 1998), pp. 8-13. A document dated 1 August 1347 cited by Fumi records payment to Maestro Andrea di Pisano «pro cennabro, biacca et cera, colla pro pignendo.» Luzi states that these materials served to decorate the *Maestà* on the cathedral façade: «...pro Maiestate pulcra de marmore, ornanda, ...» but unfortunately does not clearly state his source. However, if Luzi is to be believed, it appears that Andrea Pisano may have been responsible for decorating Maitani's marble statue of the Virgin and Child enthroned. Luzi (1866), pp. 360-361, n.1; Fumi (1891), p. 60.

<sup>47</sup> The bronze statue of Saint Peter was located in the Oratory of San Martino at San Pietro in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Romanini (1994), p. 267.

<sup>48</sup> In Orvieto, the polychromatic bronze sculptures all come from the city's cathedral, a monument intrinsically linked to the papacy. Rubeus's architrave is dated to the 1270s and Lorenzo Maitani's bronze canopy and angels date to the later period of 1323 – 1330. Romanini (1994), pp. 267, 273, n.5.

<sup>49</sup> Gardner (2005), p.55; Romanini (1994), pp. 267-268; J. Gardner, 'Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design', *The Burlington Magazine*, 115 (1973), pp. 428-429.

<sup>50</sup> White (1959), pp.274-283.

<sup>51</sup> G.Martelletti and P.Rockwell, 'Osservazioni sugli strumenti della scultura nei rilievi della facciata, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by L. Riccetti (Rome, 1988), p. 102.

programme on the pilasters may have had to be completed before the colour could be applied. This does not however, completely quash the theory that the reliefs were probably meant to be polychromatic, but here we digress too far into the realms of speculation.

### The Genesis

As previously mentioned, Romanesque precedents for the Genesis reliefs in Orvieto exist both in southern France and northern Italy. Relief panels representing episodes from the Genesis can also be found on the lower levels of French Gothic façades. In the south transept of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, wall paintings portraying a Genesis cycle were possibly begun during Nicholas IV's papacy.<sup>52</sup> One of the most extensive representations of the Genesis cycle is the manuscript *Tractatus de creatione mundi* held in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati of Siena (Fig. 90).<sup>53</sup> The manuscript has been dated to c.1290, which means that it was probably being illustrated at the time the cathedral at Orvieto was being planned.<sup>54</sup> Although the number of episodes illustrated in both Orvieto and the Sienese manuscript are roughly equivalent, different emphasis has been placed on the narration. The *Tractatus de creatione mundi* dedicates five illustrations to the first five days of Creation, the Creation of Man is represented together with God creating the animals and a separate manuscript illustration represents the Creation of Eve. In Orvieto the initial five days of Creation are illustrated in two episodes and greater emphasis is placed on God's creation of human life (Fig. 91). Four episodes in Orvieto are devoted to the creation of Adam and Eve, as opposed to the two episodes in the *Tractatus de creatione mundi* (Figs. 92, 93).<sup>55</sup> Three pictures in the Sienese manuscript also carefully illustrate God chastising and condemning Adam, Eve and the serpent; these episodes were not considered necessary in Orvieto (Fig. 94). The final illustration in the manuscript illustrates Adam and Eve working the Land, stopping short of the Orvietan reliefs which continue with scenes narrating the Offerings made by Cain and Abel, Cain and Abel fighting and conclude with allegorical representations of the Liberal Arts.

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<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

<sup>53</sup> The *Genesis* episodes illustrated in the manuscript have been variously dated from 1290 c. to the beginning of the fourteenth century and have recently been attributed to the Sienese painter Guido di Graziano. F. Mori, 'Guido di Graziano. Miniature del *Tractatus de creatione mundi*', *Duccio alle origini della pittura senese*, ex. Cat. Siena 4 ottobre 2003 – 11 gennaio 2004 (Milan 2003), pp. 104-107; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 61; *Il gotico a Siena. Miniature, pitture,oreficerie, oggetti d'arte*, ex. Cat. Siena 1982, ed. by G. Chelazzi Dini (Firenze 1982), p. 82.

<sup>54</sup> Chelazzi Dini (1982), p.82; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 61.

<sup>55</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 61.

Certain scenes in both the Orvietan and Sienese cycles correspond. However, similar iconographic layout to the representation of the Fall of Man is already evident in the same scene represented in relief on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus dated 359, now in the Grotte Vaticane at San Pietro in Rome (Figs. 90, 95, 96).<sup>56</sup> Precedents for the Creation of Eve can be found in a vast range of Western Art such as the somewhat simplified version produced by the well-travelled Master of the Genesis Initial towards the end of the twelfth century for the *Winchester Bible*, the Romanesque reliefs on the cathedrals of Modena and Verona, the French representation of the same subject on a Romanesque sculpted capital in the Abbey of Sainte-Madeleine at Vézelay or the later gothic reliefs on the façade of cathedral at Lyon in France (Fig. 55, 59, 62).<sup>57</sup> The iconography of the relief panel showing the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* on the western façade of the abbey church of Saint-Gilles du Gard is repeated in the Genesis cycle at Lyon and in Orvieto too (Figs. 97, 98, 99).<sup>58</sup> These correspondences suggest that much of the Genesis iconography was already well established prior to the Genesis narration of both the Sienese manuscript and the Orvietan pilaster reliefs.

A sophisticated note of erudition tinges the reliefs decorating the Orvieto cathedral façade. In the Genesis cycle, this is stressed in the seventh scene representing God instructing Adam and Eve not to eat from the Tree of Good and Evil and in the uncommon allegorical insertion of the Liberal Arts; Grammar, Music and Geometry, in the upper register of sculpted reliefs (Figs. 99, 100). This emphasis on teaching and learning is of particular relevance when considered alongside Antonio Nava's observation that the twelve paired figures, representing the remaining ancestors of Christ according to Matthew, at the extreme edges of the Jesse Tree on the same cathedral façade all represent "*il trasmettersi della consapevolezza profetica dall'uno all'altro personaggio, attraverso le generazioni*" (Figs. 80, 81).<sup>59</sup> The didactic purpose

<sup>56</sup> The date appears at the end of the inscription on the upper edge of the sarcophagus. E.S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton 1990), p.3.

<sup>57</sup> The *Winchester Bible* was illustrated between c. 1160 and c. 1175. The Master of the Genesis Initial was probably a travelling professional, whose work has been related to wall paintings in the Sigena Chapter House in Catalonia, Spain. C. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (Over Wallop 1993), pp. 5-6, 24. The capitals in the nave of Saint-Madelaine at Vézelay date to the period 1120-1140. Aubert (1947), p.98. The Romanesque reliefs on the façade at Modena were sculpted before 1110, perhaps before 1106. Frugoni (1984), p. 440. The façade decoration by Nicholaus at the Cathedral of Verona dates to c.1139. Kain, (1981), p. 359. The facade reliefs on the Cathedral of Saint Jean at Lyon date from the episcopate of Pierre de Savoie (1308-1322). Reynaud (1996), pp. 850-851.

<sup>58</sup> For the sculpted reliefs on the facade at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard see: Stoddard (1973); Reynaud (1996), pp. 850-851.

<sup>59</sup> "Transmitting prophetic knowledge from one person to another through the generations". A. Nava, 'L'albero di Jesse nella cattedrale in Orvieto e la pittura bizantina', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 5 (1936), p. 366; Manna (2001), p. 107.

of the Orvieto façade reliefs seems to be further reiterated by these scenes in which moments of learning are illustrated.<sup>60</sup>

The Genesis episodes on Orvieto cathedral façade's external north pilaster are separated by tendrils of ivy (Fig. 101). Ivy, as an evergreen, was a medieval symbol for eternal life and resurrection. Its function in partitioning the Orvietan Genesis scenes is to contradict the representation of the Fall of Man, offering a note of future hope and promise to the medieval observer.<sup>61</sup> The variety of vine scroll types used to frame the biblical images on the pilasters of the Orvieto façade is likely to have been employed as a sophisticated alternative, which contributed additional layers of meaning to the traditional eucharistic grape vine reference of Christ and his blood-shedding (Fig. 102).<sup>62</sup>

### The Tree of Jesse

One of the most unusual characteristics of the Orvieto façade is the presence of the Jesse Tree in monumental dimensions (Fig. 80). The reliefs in Orvieto are the largest representation of the subject in Italy and certainly the only remaining, if not unique, example of this size on a cathedral façade in Western Europe. Two of the earliest known representations of the Jesse Tree are in the *Vyšehrad Codex* of Bohemia of 1086 and a Romanesque relief on the western façade of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame la Grande at Poitiers (Figs. 103, 104).<sup>63</sup> The appearance of these simplified illustrations of the Old Testament passage of Isaiah 11:1-3 in two very disparate locations in Western Europe seems to indicate that they were derived from a previously existent source.<sup>64</sup> It also renders obsolete Emile Mâle's attribution of the original Jesse Tree iconography in the stained glass windows of Saint-Denis to the creative mind of Bishop Suger.<sup>65</sup> The inscription over the seated figure of Jesse, with a tree sprouting from his left foot, in the *Vyšehrad Codex* «*Virgula de Iesse procedit splendida flore*» leaves no room for doubt

<sup>60</sup> It is interesting to note the same scene included in the *Genesis* cycle represented in relief work on the lower register of the western façade of the cathedral of Lyon (1308-1322). Reynaud (1996), pp. 850-851.

<sup>61</sup> A. De Vries, *Elsevier's Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oirshot 2004), p. 327.

<sup>62</sup> For discussion of vine imagery and the Eucharist see: Duffy (2005), pp. 251-253.

<sup>63</sup> Manna (2001), p.7; J.A. Hayes Williams, 'The Earliest Dated Tree of Jesse Image: Thematically Reconsidered', *Athanor*, 18 (2000), p. 17; A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London 1934), pp. 83-85, 87-89.

<sup>64</sup> "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord." Isaiah 11:1-3.

<sup>65</sup> Manna (2001), p.7; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris 1948, 1st ed. 1898), pp. 316-327.

that the illustration is indeed an interpretation of the biblical passage Isaiah 11:1-3.<sup>66</sup> This early image of the Tree of Jesse does not include the Marian iconography found in later twelfth-century interpretations such as those in the British *Lambeth Palace Bible* or the French stained glass window in the cathedral of Chartres.<sup>67</sup>

What is fascinating, given the iconographical similarities linking the Orvieto Tree of Jesse with Trees painted in Eastern Europe promoting the divine right to regality of the Serbian Nemanjic dynasty, is that the *Vyšehrad Codex* was commissioned for King Vratislav II of Bohemia. Prince Vratislav was crowned King of Bohemia in Prague on 15 June 1086 in return for his loyal support of the Emperor Henry IV. The Tree of Jesse and the following four pages illustrating Christ's ancestors in the *Vyšehrad Codex* are used as a celebration of royal Christological genealogy with a clear emphasis on King Vratislav II's newfound status as a member of this select group.<sup>68</sup> It is not unreasonable to suggest that the Bohemian image's original iconographic source, which was perhaps byzantine and may well have inspired the Eastern European Jesse Trees, also contained these same underlying dynastic connotations.

### Italian Precedents for the Tree of Jesse

In Italy the earliest surviving representation of the Tree of Jesse is the aforementioned early twelfth-century bronze plaque on the door of the Church of San Zeno in Verona (Fig. 105). One of the remaining reliefs from a pulpit dating to the second half of the same century, which was once in the church of San Pier Scheraggio, Florence also represents a simplified Tree of Jesse (Fig. 106). The Romanesque Church of San Piero Scheraggio probably dates to the end of the eleventh century and was enclosed within Vasari's construction of the Uffizi, begun in 1560.<sup>69</sup> An incident concerning the bishop of Florence Francesco (1295-1301) and the church of San Piero Scheraggio is worth

<sup>66</sup> Hayes Williams (2000), p.20; *Vyšehrad Codex*, 1086, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, MS XIV A 13, folio 4v.

<sup>67</sup> *Tree of Jesse, Lambeth Palace Bible*, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS3, folio 198r. The Lambeth Palace Bible dates to the first half of the twelfth century. Watson (1934), pp. 99-102. *Tree of Jesse*, Chartres Cathedral, 1150. M. Aubert, 'Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral', *The Burlington Magazine*, 42 (1923), p. 266. The emphasis of Christ's human nature, stressed by the highlighted presence of the Virgin Mary in twelfth century Jesse Tree lineage was probably due to the Cistercian order's popularity at the time and its promotion of the mystical veneration of the Virgin. Mâle (1898), pp. 316-327; J. R. Johnson, 'The Tree of Jesse Windows of Chartres. Laudes Regiae', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), pp. 1-22.

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed analysis of the historical circumstances leading to Vratislav II's coronation and the political implications contained within the Jesse Tree imagery see: Hayes Williams (2000), pp. 17-23.

<sup>69</sup> Tigler (2006), pp. 146-154; Manna (2001), pp. 93-94; W. Paatz, E. Paatz, *Kie Kirchen von Florenz*, 6 vols., 6 (Frankfurt 1954-1955), pp. 668-670; P. Sanpaulesi, 'San Piero Scheraggio', *Rivista d'arte*, XV, 2 (1933), pp. 129-150; XVI, 1 (1934), pp. 129-130.



mentioning here. Francesco had evidently requested payment from the Arte di Calimala, one of the richest of the seven major guilds in Florence, but the Calimala had refused to pay up. The prior of San Paolo Scheraggio, who was named as arbitrator in the mediation between the guild and Bishop Francesco, decided for the part of the bishop and ordered the Calimala to pay its debt.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that the recently appointed Bishop Francesco - who had also played a major role in coordinating the initiation of the Orvieto cathedral project - became familiar with the Florentine church and its pulpit as a result of this occasion. His continued involvement and interest in the affairs of his old diocese is confirmed by his participation alongside the city's Capitano del Popolo in the Orvietan embassy to the curia in a reconciliation attempt concerning the situation in the Val di Lago after the event of Orsello Orsini's death in 1295.<sup>71</sup> The remaining reliefs from the dismantled structure illustrate episodes from the Life of Christ providing a similar, albeit much simplified, context to that of the Orvietan Tree (Fig. 107).<sup>72</sup> Benedetto Antelami's Tree of Jesse relief on the right side of the portal of the Baptistry in Parma is mirrored by relief representations of the Genealogy of Moses on the left, and serves to represent the continuity between the Old and New Testaments, a function which is also performed by the repeated Tree of Jesse iconography on either side of the main portal on the west façade of the cathedral of Orvieto (Fig. 108).<sup>73</sup> Two thirteenth-century Jesse Trees can also be found flanking the western portals of the cathedral of San Martino in Lucca and the cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa (Figs. 109, 148).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> A. Divinziani, 'Francesco Monaldeschi Vescovo di Orvieto e di Firenze', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 22 (1966), p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> D. Waley, 'Boniface VIII and the Commune of Orvieto', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 32 (1950), p. 129.

<sup>72</sup> The pulpit probably dates to c.1175-1185. The remaining biblical episodes represented in relief which once decorated the pulpit are: the Nativity, The Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation at the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Deposition and the Tree of Jesse. The original structure was dismantled at an early unknown date and stored on the right side of the nave of the church of San Pier Scheraggio. In 1787 the remains were donated by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo to the church of San Leonardo in Arcetri where the pulpit can still be found today. The fact that only two support columns for the structure remain means that it may well once have been an ambon, similar in style to the equivalent structure at the church of San Miniato al Monte in Florence. If in this is the case, the number of narrative episodes is incomplete. In fact another panel illustrating the Annunciation in the Cloisters Museum in New York may originally have been part of the pulpit, as is perhaps a statue of David in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, which possibly supported the lectern on the pulpit. G. Tigler, *Toscana Romanica* (Milan 2006), pp. 150-152; Manna (2001), pp.3, 93-94; Sanpaulesi (1933), pp.129-150; (1934), pp.129-130.

<sup>73</sup> The Baptistry of Parma was founded in 1196, this is attested in the inscription on the architrave of the northern portal: «taken twice two years from 1200, the sculptor named Benedetto began this work». G. Schianchi, 'Presentazione', *Il Battistero di Parma. Iconografia Iconologia Fonti Letterarie*, ed. by G. Schianchi (Milan 1999), p. XIII; G. Romano, 'La struttura del portale', *Battistero di Parma. Il portale della Vergine* (Parma 1992), p.6; Manna (2001), p. 96; A. C. Quintavalle, *Il battistero di Parma* (Palermo 1988), pp. 43-44.

<sup>74</sup> The decoration of the western façade of the cathedral at Lucca began in 1204, and the atrium was completed in 1235. The Jesse Tree reliefs on the pilaster of the portico was executed in this time frame

When considered within the hagiographic context of the other narrative reliefs on the western façade of the cathedral in Lucca, the Jesse Tree pilaster functions as a persuasive didactic instrument. The cathedral of San Martino was strategically situated along Northern Europe's pilgrim route for Rome and was an obligatory stopover for pilgrims who could pray to the relics of San Cerbone, San Martino, the anti-Arian saints Eufemia, Frediano, Venanzio di Luni and Paolino of Lucca, and view one of Christianity's most sacred testimonials: the *Volto Santo*. The later cathedral of Orvieto was similarly situated along a pilgrim road to Rome, held the important relics of the local antiheretical martyr Pietro Parenzo together with the miraculous testimonial relic of the host, and its façade reliefs were also employed in didactic promulgation of the Christian faith.<sup>75</sup> The decorative programme of the façade of the cathedral of San Martino too, was the combined result of patronage from the local bishop combined with papal support directly from Rome. Restructuring of the Lucchese cathedral began in 1060 and was promoted by the city's bishop Anselmo da Baggio, who continued to support the project after becoming pope Alexander II on 1 October 1061.<sup>76</sup>

The other later thirteenth-century Tree of Jesse decorating the right side of the Genoese cathedral's western portal is counterbalanced by reliefs portraying episodes from the Life of Christ on the opposite side (Fig. 109).<sup>77</sup> Another possible thirteenth-century Tree of Jesse once decorated the exterior wall of what became the fourteenth-century chapel of Sant'Isidoro in the basilica of San Marco. Although no sources mention that the current sixteenth-century Tree of Jesse covered an earlier representation of the same subject, the presence of thirteenth-century relief work on the chapel's portal and the perfect setting of the Tree of Jesse iconography within the earlier general Marian and New Testament iconographical context in the left transept of the basilica makes the hypothesis entirely plausible.

The final representation of the Tree of Jesse is a wall painting in the medieval chapel of San Paolo in the Duomo at Naples, which is attributed to Lello di Orvieto by

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by an artist who was profoundly influenced by the work of Wiligelmo. Manna (2001), pp. 98-99; P. Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca 1982), p.23; C. Baracchini, A. Caleca, *Il Duomo di Lucca* (Lucca 1973), pp. 17-20; C. Enlart, 'Il portale della cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Genova', *L'Italia e l'arte straniera*, Atti del X Congresso internazionale di Storia dell'Arte in Roma (Rome 1922), pp. 135-138.

<sup>75</sup> For discussion of Pietro Parenzo see "Pietro Parenzo" in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

<sup>76</sup> Manna (2001), pp. 98-101; R. Gregoire, 'L'agiografia lucchese antica e medievale', *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medievale* (Lucca 1984), pp. 52-59; H. Schwarzmaler, 'Riforma monastica e movimenti religiosi a Lucca alla fine del sec. XI', *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medievale* (Lucca 1984), p. 73.

<sup>77</sup> The reliefs representing the Stories from the Life of Christ and the Tree of Jesse are attributed to the same sculptor responsible for the Arca del Battista held inside the cathedral and are dated to c.1225. C. Di Fabio, "'Tu regis alti ianua/et porta lucis fulgida.'" Il 'senso' della facciata: architettura e scultura', *La cattedrale di Genova nel Medioevo secoli VI - XVI*, ed. C. Di Fabio (Aosta 1998), pp. 174-175.

Ferdinando Bologna on the basis of its stylistic affinity with a mosaic in the Neapolitan church of Santa Restituta by the same master and the signature on it.<sup>78</sup> Of all the Italian Trees of Jesse mentioned so far, only this representation employs unrestrained monarchic imagery. All the genealogical characters seated among the branches of the tree are dressed in sumptuous attire, which includes the regal tiara. Unlike the other representations, this Tree of Jesse is situated within the secluded space of a private chapel and not on the entrance façade destined for the general public.<sup>79</sup> It also differs greatly in its iconographical layout, which is closer in style to the fourteenth-century fresco of the Tree of Life in the church of San Giovenale in Orvieto than the city's monumental Tree of Jesse sculpted in relief on the cathedral façade.<sup>80</sup>

### Eastern Models for the Tree of Jesse

The art historian Antonia Nava first drew attention to iconographic similarities between the Jesse Tree on the Orvieto Cathedral and sixteenth-century Byzantine representations of the same subject in 1936.<sup>81</sup> In his article of 1957, Arthur Watson pointed out that the sixteenth-century Jesse Trees used as comparative examples by Nava could in fact be traced back to a series of wall paintings of the same subject in Serbia; some of which were contemporary to the Orvietan example (Fig. 80).<sup>82</sup> Discussion regarding various interpretations as to the actual significance of the image had already begun well before the publications of Nava and Watson. However, the art historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were unable to explain all the scenes portrayed.<sup>83</sup> Nava's

<sup>78</sup> Bologna dates the Tree of Life fresco in the Duomo of Naples to 1310-1314. Annexed to the Neapolitan cathedral is the Church of Santa Restituta. The inscription on the mosaic signed and dated 1322 by «LELLU» nella Cappella del Principio in Santa Restituta is in poor condition, due to being plastered over in the seventeenth century, and its interpretation is controversial. Bologna reads «LELLU (S)/VER... DE VRB/EV». However earlier interpretations of the inscription have been: «LELLU (S)/VE.../DE URB/E.» F. Bologna, 'Un'aggiunta a Lello da Orvieto', *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa* (Naples 1988), p. 48; F. Bologna, *Pittori alla Corte Angioina di Napoli 1266-1414* (Rome 1969), pp. 126-132; O. Morisani, *Pittura del Trecento in Napoli* (Napoli 1947), pp. 132, n.8.

<sup>79</sup> If the Tree of Jesse in the transept of San Marco in Venice existed in an earlier version, before the fourteenth-century addition of the chapel of Sant'Isidoro, it would still have occupied a very public part of the church on the end wall of the left transept.

<sup>80</sup> Manna (2001), pp. 7, 104-105; Bologna (1969), p. 129.

<sup>81</sup> The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century byzantine Jesse Trees used as comparative examples were murals found at the monasteries of Lavra and Dochiariou on Mt. Athos and on the exterior decoration of five churches in the historical territory of Bucovina, today divided between Romania and the Ukraine. Nava (1936), pp. 363-376.

<sup>82</sup> A. Watson, 'The Imagery of the Tree of Jesse on the west front of the Orvieto Cathedral,' *Fritz Saxl 1890-1948. A volume of memorial essays from his friends in England*, ed. D.J.Gordon (London 1957), pp. 149-159.

<sup>83</sup> L. Gruner, *Die Basreliefs an der Vorderseite des Doms zu Orvieto*, text by E. Braun (Leipzig 1858); L. Luzi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Florence 1866); L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto ed il Simbolismo Cristiano* (Rome 1896); A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, IV (Milan 1906); E.A. Rose, 'The meaning of the

connection of the scenes portrayed on the Orvieto tree to the later Byzantine trees was a promising development to the question as inscriptions on the Byzantine paintings allowed for the identification of many individual scenes. Unfortunately a number of the episodes on the Orvieto pilaster had no corresponding eastern representation, a problem which forced the art historian to conclude that these particular scenes were inspired by different biblical texts.<sup>84</sup> However, close correspondence between two Jesse Trees on Mt. Athos and five others in Romania suggested that they all derived from a common archetypal source (Fig. 110).<sup>85</sup> Michael D. Taylor continued the investigations initiated by Nava and Watson increasing the count of corresponding monumental Jesse Trees in Eastern Europe to seventeen and using their biblical inscriptions to further decipher the meaning of the reliefs on the façade at Orvieto.<sup>86</sup> In an article published in 1981 Taylor concludes that all monumental Jesse Trees in both Orvieto and Eastern Europe derive from an unpreserved archetype originally conceived at the papal court in Orvieto and executed in the same town.<sup>87</sup>

This theory has been questioned by Vesna Milanović, who divides the Eastern European Jesse Trees into two distinct categories: a simple type and a complex type. The 'simple' Jesse Tree can be traced back to a written account of a mosaic of 1169 by a 'Greek' artist on the west wall of the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem. This type shows the figure of Jesse at the base of a genealogical stem formed from either a tree or acanthus vine. Singular figures are placed within the branches or vine scrolls of the tree and no scenes are included.<sup>88</sup> The 'complex' Tree of Jesse always has a genealogical stem in the form of a vine and has both figures and scenes portrayed in the composition.<sup>89</sup> All the Serbian Jesse Trees and the Orvieto Tree are 'complex' representations. Contamination occurs between the two typologies in some thirteenth-century Armenian illustrated manuscripts, where single figures are contained in the vine scroll characteristic of the 'complex' Jesse Tree.<sup>90</sup>

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reliefs on the second pier of the Orvieto façade,' *Art Bulletin*, XIV (1932), pp. 258-276; Watson (1934); E. Carli, *Le Sculture del Duomo di Orvieto* (Bergamo 1947).

<sup>84</sup> A complete understanding of the sophisticated iconography of Orvieto's Jesse Tree continues to elude art historians. Nava (1936); C. Lansing, *Power and Purity. Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (New York 1988), p. 169.

<sup>85</sup> M.D. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34-35 (1980-1981), pp. 125-176, p. 127.

<sup>86</sup> M. D. Taylor, 'The Prophetic Scenes in the Tree of Jesse at Orvieto', *The Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), pp. 403-417.

<sup>87</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), pp. 125-176.

<sup>88</sup> V. Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Zograf*, 20 (1989), pp. 48-60, pp. 51-52.

<sup>89</sup> Milanović (1989), p. 51.

<sup>90</sup> Milanović (1989), p. 51.

Milanović suggests that the frequent portrayal of celebrated church poets within the iconographic program of byzantine Jesse Trees indicates that the archetype is likely to be derived from eastern sources. She also reminds us that it is impossible to determine the typology of the Jesse Tree which was once located in the monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople.<sup>91</sup> “...(T)he Tree of Jesse... of mosaic work so marvellously rich and well wrought that he who has seen it will not see anything so marvellous elsewhere...” certainly struck the Spaniard Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo in its lavishness and may well have been an example of the more sophisticated and grander ‘complex’ type.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately a hypothesis of Constantinople being the site for the ‘complex’ Jesse Tree archetype found in the monasteries of Serbia and on the Orvieto Cathedral façade remains tenuous because of the inability to determine a more precise date for the execution of the artwork (eleventh to fourteenth century) and the lack of detail of its written description.

The earliest known ‘complex’ illustration of the Jesse Tree therefore is the wall painting in the narthex of the Church of the Trinity at Sopoćani. This is one of three thirteenth-century Serbian representations of the same subject (Fig. 111). The Tree on the eastern façade of the entrance tower at the Monastery of Studenica is in poor condition and has been generally dated to the thirteenth century, the Tree at Sopoćani is dated to c.1268 and the Tree of Jesse in the narthex of the Church of Achilles at Arilje dates to 1296.<sup>93</sup> The superior numbers of surviving monumental sized representations of Jesse Trees in Serbia, when compared to any other thirteenth-century Christian State, have long made it the natural choice of comparison for the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto.<sup>94</sup> The Nemanjić family used the Tree of Jesse imagery extensively to

<sup>91</sup> The date of this Jesse Tree has to be given to some time between the construction of the Monastery in the eleventh century and the fourteenth century, when it was recorded by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo of Spain. Milanović (1989), pp. 50-51; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (New Jersey 1972), p. 218.

<sup>92</sup> J. Gardner, ‘The Artistic Patronage of Pope Nicholas IV’, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Serie IV, Quaderno 2 (Pisa 1997), pp. 1-8, p.4, n. 51.

<sup>93</sup> Michael Taylor dates the Tree of Jesse at Studenica to 1330-1340 on the base of similarities between the barely legible fragments of the Crucifixion and the Baptism scenes in the same church and the same scenes at Prizren and Dečani. Vesna Milanović claims that Taylor arrived at this later date as a result of the mere existence of these scenes in the representation, which she thinks is an insufficient argument. Taylor (1980-1981) (pp. 125-176), p. 128; Milanović (1989) (pp. 48-60), p. 49, n. 15. Taylor gives precedence to the Jesse Tree at Sopoćani c. 1268 with respect to that at Studenica and states that it is probably the archetype for the Serbian Trees. His theory differs from Vesna Milanović’s dating, she claims the Tree of Jesse at Studenica was executed before that at Sopoćani. Taylor (1980-1981), p. 128; Milanović (1989), p. 49. For the Tree of Jesse in the narthex of the Church of Achilles at Arilje. Taylor (1980-1981), p. 128; Milanović (1989), p. 50.

<sup>94</sup> Eastern representations of the Tree of Jesse are scattered throughout Georgia, Greece, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia and Turkey. Watson (1957), pp. 149-164; Taylor (1980-1981), pp. 128-130; Milanović (1989), pp. 48-59.

propagandise the sacred foundations of their lineage emphasising their divine right to rule Serbia.<sup>95</sup> Other early examples of the Tree of Jesse were the murals in the Church of St. Nicholas in Kinevisi in Georgia (early thirteenth century) and in the Church of Pantanassa in Melnik in Bulgaria (late thirteenth century), and the mosaics in the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem (from 1169) and in the cloister of the Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople.<sup>96</sup> All four of these Trees are known solely through written documentation and the examples in Melnik, Bethlehem and Santa Mary Peribleptos have been destroyed.<sup>97</sup>

Taylor dates the Orvietan archetype for the Jesse Trees of the 'complex' type to the 1260s and suggests that it was created as an anti-heretical image during the presence of the papal court of Urban IV in the Umbrian city.<sup>98</sup> The Tree of Jesse is a visual representation which emphasises the human ancestry and prophecies of Jesus.<sup>99</sup> This concept is repugnant to the Cathars who claimed that Christ was pure spirit.<sup>100</sup> Orvieto had gained the reputation of being a Cathar stronghold when in 1199 Pietro Parenzo, the rector of Orvieto appointed by Pope Innocent III, was murdered allegedly by heretics.<sup>101</sup> Weak inquisitorial efforts were made by the Dominicans in Orvieto in 1239; however, the Cathars responded violently, breaking into the Dominican convent and attacking the inquisitor.<sup>102</sup> This incident acted as a dissuasion for continued future inquisitions and further strengthened Orvieto's reputation as a lair for heretics. It wasn't until 1263, during Urban IV's residence in the city, that the inquisition was revived by the

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<sup>95</sup> This choice of inserting members of their own family among the figures represented on the Tree suggests that the iconography did not originate in Serbia, but rather an existing model was then adapted by the Nemanjić dynasty.

<sup>96</sup> Poor documentation of the Tree at Kinevisi and that of Melnik makes it impossible to determine if they were complex or simplified representations of the Tree of Jesse. Milanović (1989), pp. 49, 51-52, Mango (1972), pp. 217-218.

<sup>97</sup> Milanović (1989), pp. 49.

<sup>98</sup> Pope Urban IV resided in Orvieto for 692 days from 18 October 1262 to 9 September 1264. Taylor (1980-81), pp. 150-154. A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi Locali,' *Società e Istituzioni dell'Italia Comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*, Congresso storico internazionale Perugia 6-9 novembre 1985, 2 vols. (Perugia 1988), I, pp. 155-278, pp. 163, 237.

<sup>99</sup> Urban IV had evidently written letters authenticating the relic of the Holy Blood at Hailes Monastery in England. In 1267 Prince Edward of England had also acquired a relic of the Holy Blood authenticated by the same pope. Jacques Pantaleon was Patriarch of Jerusalem before becoming Pope Urban IV on 27 August 1261. As pope, one of his goals was the unification and spread of orthodoxy all over Europe. He was the first pope to celebrate the feast of the Corpus Domini, which he did twice in Orvieto where the papal court was in residence. The bull *Transiturus* was issued under this pope in 1264. It is not surprising that the Eucharistic miracle of Bolsena occurred while he was resident in Orvieto and it certainly makes sense that the inquisition regained force in the city while he was present. N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood. King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge 2001), p. 77, n.145; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge 1991), p. 314.

<sup>100</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 169.

<sup>101</sup> For further discussion of Pietro Parenzo see "Pietro Parenzo" in Chapter 5 of this thesis. V. Natalini ed., *San Pietro Parenzo. La Leggenda scritta dal Maestro Giovanni canonico di Orvieto* (Rome 1936).

<sup>102</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 57.

Franciscans.<sup>103</sup> A Franciscan inquisitor Fra Jordano convicted some members of the Orvietan populace of Catharism in 1265.<sup>104</sup> Finally in 1268, two local inquisitors Fra Bartolomeo d'Amelia and Fra Benvenuto di Orvieto began to seriously weed out the Orvietan heretics.<sup>105</sup>

Urban IV was also the pope who issued the bull *Transiturus de mundo*, which instituted the Feast of the *Corpus Christi*, while he was in residence at Orvieto.<sup>106</sup> The celebration of the *Corpus Christi* has strong anti-heretical implications as the ceremonial consummation of the sacrament is a ritualistic acknowledgement of Christ's human form. The coinciding presence in Orvieto of the Dominican Cardinal Hugh of St.-Cher at Urban IV's court, a scholar who had 'long recommended a commemoration of the holy sacrament as a feast worthy of the universal celebration in the church,' prompted Taylor to suggest that this cardinal was in fact responsible for designing the archetype of the 'complex' model of the Jesse Tree, which with all probability was once located in the Orvietan Church of San Domenico.<sup>107</sup> San Domenico, the Orvietan church belonging to Cardinal Hugh of St.-Cher's order, was under construction at the time and was consecrated by Pope Urban IV in May 1264.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately, as Milanović points out, Taylor's alignment of the Jesse Tree with Pope Urban IV, Cardinal Hugh of St.-Cher, the Feast of the Corpus Christi and the Commune of Orvieto is based on the existence of an archetypal Tree of Jesse in Orvieto at the beginning of the 1260s, for which there is absolutely no proof.<sup>109</sup>

Although the credibility of Taylor's Dominican archetype may be questionable, legend has it that the miracle of Bolsena, which gave rise to Orvieto cathedral's precious eucharistic relics, occurred during the reign of pope Urban IV in 1264.<sup>110</sup> Two early Orvietan chronicles name Peter 'Teuthonicus' as the subject who witnessed the miraculous transformation of the host to bleeding flesh in his hands, and it has been suggested that this figure is in fact to be identified in 'Pietro di Praga' who appears

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<sup>103</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 59.

<sup>104</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 140.

<sup>105</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 141, 149.

<sup>106</sup> The bull was issued 11 August 1264, slightly less than a month before the papal court left Orvieto. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p. 237; Taylor (1980-1981), p. 150.

<sup>107</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), p. 150.

<sup>108</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), p. 152.

<sup>109</sup> Milanović (1989), p. 48.

<sup>110</sup> A chronicle compiled in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century from earlier lost sources reads: "Detto anno in la chiesa di Santa Christina de Bolsena apparvi il miraculo del Corpus Domini et portato in Orvieto per il vescovo de la ciptà con solenne cirimonia posato in Santa Maria Prisca, come al presenti si vede." Muratori, RISS, 1, pp. 308-309.

regularly in pope Urban IV's registers.<sup>111</sup> The papal documents refer to master Peter, canon of Prague and pronotary of the king of Bohemia who arrived at Bolsena along the Via Cassia before making his way to the papal court in Orvieto at the beginning of June 1264 in order to ask for dispensation from residing in his benefice (Fig. 112).<sup>112</sup> This was Peter's second visit to the papal court of Urban IV; two years earlier he had been sent to Viterbo as personal ambassador of the Bohemian king Ottokar II.<sup>113</sup> Peter continued to be an active figure in political affairs which involved the papal court and the Kingdom of Bohemia, to the extent that king Ottokar II sent his apologies to pope Gregory X for Peter's absence from the second council of Lyon, explaining that his presence was indispensable at the Bohemian court. The last documentary reference to this possible primary witness of the miracle of Bolsena was an act donating his house to the Premonstratensian monastery of Milevsko on 14 September 1288.

Polc suggests that Peter of Prague was an illegitimate member of the royal family of Bohemia, the same family which owned, and must have continued to treasure as a historic memento, the first illustrated edition of the Tree of Jesse iconography.<sup>114</sup> If Polc's hypothesis is correct, Peter, who was both a scholar and a member of the royal family, would certainly have known of the *Vyšehrad Codex* and its illustrations celebrating the divine right of Bohemia's first king Vratislav to rule. If Peter is indeed to be identified as the protagonist of the events which produced Orvieto's relic of the Holy Corporal, Taylor's theory of an earlier edition of the Tree of Jesse iconography produced during the papacy of Urban IV, which later inspired the Orvietan cathedral's façade reliefs remains attractive. Unfortunately, the existing documentation on Peter 'Teuthonicus' is insufficient to establish his regal Bohemian heritage and therefore cannot be seriously considered in support of Taylor's theory of an archetype for the Tree of Jesse, produced during the residence of the papal court of Urban IV in Orvieto.

<sup>111</sup> The two chronicles are published by Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio and date to before 1563 and 1573-1574. F.T. Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio, 'La «storia del miracolo di Bolsena» e le sue vicende', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 29 (1973), pp. 13-27. Polc associates the 'Sacerdos Teuthonicus' who is the main character involved in the miraculous events with 'Pietro di Praga' mentioned in the papal registers. J.V. Polc, 'Il miracolo di Bolsena e Pietro di Praga. Un'ipotesi', *Rivista di Storia della chiesa in Italia*, XLV (1991), pp. 443-448.

<sup>112</sup> Lansing (1998), p.164; Polc (1991), pp. 443-448.

<sup>113</sup> Despite being of noble birth, Peter's family is never named. Polc suggests that he was an illegitimate son of the Bohemian royal family. The nature of his assignments indicate an enormous amount of trust placed in him by the King, which Polc hypothesises could indicate that he was actually the illegitimate son of King Venceslao II and therefore half brother to King Ottocar II. This membership to the Bohemian royal family would also explain his ecclesiastic career. His legal studies were probably executed at the universities of either Bologna or Parma as was common in Bohemia as the first universities did not appear until after the thirteenth century in Bohemia. Polc (1991), p. 448.

<sup>114</sup> Polc (1991), p. 447.



In his discussion of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto, Taylor reasons that the fact that only one Italian reproduction of the hypothetical Tree of Jesse archetype exists, is due to the model's Orvietan origins. He claims that the city did not have the time to produce a significant local community of artists before it was superseded by Avignon as the papal residence outside Rome, and it was these local artists who would have been the natural exporters of the new iconography to other Italian centres.<sup>115</sup> According to Taylor, the proliferation of the archetype in Eastern Europe, in particular Serbia, was due to the anti-heretical stance of the papacy in the second half of the thirteenth century, who transmitted the Tree of Jesse iconography to the Serbian Kingdom in response to the Nemanjic dynasty's requests for help in suppressing the Bogomil heresy.<sup>116</sup> The main problem with Taylor's resolution to the Serbian problem is that his date for the Orvietan archetype is c.1263, however he admits that neither Pope Urban IV (1262-1264) nor Pope Clement IV (1265-November 1268) are documented as having conducted political affairs with any of the Balkan States.<sup>117</sup> This is indeed a problem as the first reproduction of the series of the Orvietan Tree of Jesse in Serbia dates to 1268 at Sopocani or, if Milanović is to be believed, to a slightly earlier date with the fresco in the Monastery in Studenica (Fig. 111).<sup>118</sup>

Although Taylor's theory of an lost archetype for the Jesse Tree dating to c.1263 in the church of San Domenico in Orvieto proves to be unlikely, there are aspects of his argument that remain highly convincing. Taylor is probably correct in identifying the papal court as the link tying the Jesse Tree on the Orvieto Cathedral façade to the Eastern European examples (Fig. 80). Given the tenuous evidence for the existence of an Orvietan iconographical archetype in the 1260s, what remains is a relatively large number of Jesse Trees in Eastern Europe which are related, probably through the intermediary of the papal court, to one unique Italian example on the Orvieto Cathedral façade. Surely a more rational solution to the problem would be to reverse the order of Eastern - Western iconographic precedence suggested by Taylor and identify the papal court as being responsible for the importation of the iconographic motif to the Italian peninsula. The personality responsible for this importation was likely to be the driving force behind the ideation of the Orvieto Cathedral façade.

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<sup>115</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), p. 175.

<sup>116</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), pp. 159-162.

<sup>117</sup> Hugh of St.-Cher died in Orvieto in March 1263 and the Church of San Domenico was consecrated by Pope Urban IV in May 1264, it is unlikely that the archetype was executed long after these dates. Taylor (1980-1981), pp. 150, 152, 161.

<sup>118</sup> Milanović (1989), p. 49.

Middeldorf Kosegarten re-examines the monumental wall painting of the Tree of Jesse, mentioned by Taylor, in the church of the Apostles in Thessaloniki (Fig. 113).<sup>119</sup> Studies of this Greek Tree of Jesse, postdating Taylor's work, have suggested that it was executed soon after 1315 by a workshop originating from Constantinople.<sup>120</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten suggests that the prototype for the Tree of Jesse in both Thessaloniki and Orvieto was probably located in the city of Constantinople and must have been executed by 1290-1295.<sup>121</sup> A provenance of the archetype from the Eastern Roman Empire could also account for the choice of acanthus as the decorative framing motif on the two Jesse trees (Fig. 114). Figured acanthus scrolls can be traced directly back to Roman decoration on public buildings from the Flavian period onwards.<sup>122</sup> An exquisitely preserved example of figured acanthus scrolls can be found decorating the fourth-century sarcophagus of Costantina, once held in the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza and now housed in the Museo Pio Clementino, Palazzi Vaticani in Rome (Fig. 115).<sup>123</sup> Sixth-century mosaics in the apse of San Vitale in Ravenna, executed during the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian, portray four angels supporting the mystic lamb in the centre of extensive vine scrolls, framing animals and exotic birds (Fig. 116).<sup>124</sup> In Rome, the basilica of San Clemente, built during the first half of the twelfth century for pope Pasquale II, also has acanthus scrolls in its apse. The swirling volutes stem from a lavish centralised bush, not unlike that at the base of the byzantine

<sup>119</sup> Taylor (1980-1981), p.129; Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), pp. 53-61.

<sup>120</sup> C. Stephan, 'Ein byzantinisches Bildensymbol. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki', *Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft*, 7 (Worms 1986), p. 242, 252.

<sup>121</sup> The date c. 1290 for the first preparatory drawing for the Orvieto cathedral facade determines the *post quem* for the byzantine prototype in Constantinople as it clearly shows a rough sketch of this complex Tree of Jesse iconography. Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 53. The Dominican bishop of Orvieto Constantinus Rainerius seems to be Orvieto's strongest link to Greece. He was named as legate to the Nicaean Imperial Court of Theodore II by Pope Alexander IV in 1255 and appears to have died there in 1256. His remains were then bought back and buried in Perugia. Emperor John III Ducas Vatatzes, Theodore's father, had won back the regions of Thrace, Macedonia and Thessalonika in 1246 and it is not improbable that Constantine actually visited Thessalonika before his death. However, a good thirty years separate Constantine's voyage to Greece and the planning of Orvieto's cathedral facade, which makes any connection between the two events unlikely. It would be interesting to know who accompanied bishop Constantine of Orvieto on his mission, his itinerary in Greece, and if it is purely coincidental that the surname given to him by Eubel is shared by a later eminent citizen of Orvieto: cardinal Theodericus Rainerii. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, I (Città Vaticana 1960), pp. 400, 508; T. Käppeli, 'Konstantin von Orvieto', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 10 (1940), pp. 282-296; C. Mango, *La civiltà bizantina, Storia universale*, 9 (1st ed. 1980; reprinted Milan 2004), p. 443.

<sup>122</sup> M. Seidel, 'Die Rankensäulen der Sienser Domfassade', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* (1969), pp. 97-124, 156-167.

<sup>123</sup> The sarcophagus contains the remains of either Constantia or Constantina of the Roman Constantinian family, which dates it to 330-360. It is now in the Vatican Museums in Rome. D.E.E. Keiner, *Roman Sculpture* (Yale University 1992), pp. 457-458.

<sup>124</sup> The mosaics are located in the vaults above the apse and are dated to 550 AD. In virtue of the water contained in them, the acanthus vines symbolise 'mystic nourishment' and rebirth. The peacocks amongst the foliage allude to Christian concepts of resurrection and immortality. *La Basilica di San Vitale a Ravenna*, ed. P. Angiolini Martinelli, 2 vols. (Modena 1997), I, p.5, II, pp. 225-226.

pilaster in İstanbul or the Jesse Tree roots in Orvieto, from which springs the true cross and Christ crucified upon it (Fig. 117).<sup>125</sup> The remains of the pilaster sculpted with acanthus relief decoration in the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi and the mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna suggest that such motifs could also be commonly found in Constantinople (Fig. 118).<sup>126</sup> The ancient marble slab, which still serves as an architrave above the central portal of the medieval church of San Francesco, formed a constant reminder for Orvieto citizens that indeed many of the town's churches were Roman temples converted to receive the Christian cult in ancient times.<sup>127</sup>

The adaptation of the peopled acanthus scroll motif - once sculpted on columns and pilasters and visible in mosaics of both the Eastern and Western Roman Empire - to the flat surface of the Orvietan pilasters was probably a deliberate visual reference to Rome the city of the papacy, and may well have been an allusion to the political-ecclesiastic theme of Eastern and Western reunification (Figs. 114-119). This was, after all a theme which had dominated the second Council of Lyon organised by pope Gregory X, to which Girolamo d'Ascoli had personally accompanied the Eastern church's delegated representatives all the way from Constantinople, and continued to be a constant preoccupation of the papacy during the second half of the thirteenth century until well after the loss of Acre, which coincided with Nicholas IV's reign as pope.<sup>128</sup> The Roman figurative acanthus scrolls must have been fashionable decorative solutions for medieval cathedrals as they can be found in column and pilaster reliefs on the cathedrals of Lucca, Pisa, Siena and in the Neapolitan church of San Giovanni Maggiore, where they were probably inspired by the earlier eighth-century foliate

<sup>125</sup> J. Johnston Elliot, 'The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting, c. 1266 – 1343: the Impact of Guelf Politics, papal power and Angevin iconography' (PhD dissertation, University of Warwick, 2000), p. 204, n.568.

<sup>126</sup> Gardner has already suggested that the use of birds on acanthus grounds in Torriti's apse mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome may be directly connected to the Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV's sojourn of eighteen months in Constantinople. J. Gardner, 'Torriti's Birds', *Medioevo: i modelli*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi Parma 27 September – 1st October, 1999, ed. by A.C. Quintavalle (Milan 2002), pp. 608, 610.

<sup>127</sup> L. Riccetti, *La città costruita. Lavori pubblici e immagine in Orvieto medievale* (Firenze 1992), pp. 81-82, n.13; P. Perali, *Orvieto. Note storiche di topografia e d'arte dalle origini al 1800* (Roma 1979), p. 13; *Orvieto Underground*, 2, ed. A. Satolli, *Quaderni dell'Istituto Statale d'Arte di Orvieto*, 3-4 (1984), entry 29.

<sup>128</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> Council of Lyon took place in 1274. O. Capitani, 'Niccolò IV ed il suo tempo: situazione socio-politico-culturale in Italia ed in Europa nella seconda metà del XIII secolo', *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno 14-17 dicembre 1989, ed. E. Menestò (Perugia 1991), pp. 1-20. Acre fell on 28 May 1291. J. Richard, *La grande storia delle crociate*, 2 vols. (Rome 1999), vol. 2, pp. 736-744, 768.

pilasters of the Lady chapel built by Pope John VII in the Roman Basilica of San Pietro.<sup>129</sup>

In eastern Europe the Tree of Jesse was generally painted in the narthexes or peripheral parts of the church and was used to represent an “encounter between the Old and New Testaments... stressing the role of the Virgin – as a descendant of the chosen Old Testament persons – in the preparation of the Saviour’s coming”.<sup>130</sup> This eastern interpretation can effortlessly be applied to the reliefs situated on the exterior western face of the Cathedral of Orvieto (Fig. 44). When the sculpted panels are read from left to right at Orvieto the Creation precedes the Tree of Jesse, which is followed by Stories from the Life of Christ (contained in a Tree of Jesse framework) and the cycle ends with a portrayal of the Last Judgement. The repeated motif of the Jesse Tree encourages a continuous horizontal reading of the four narrative compositions emphasising the role of the Virgin as intermediary between Old and New Testaments (Fig. 108). The main entranceway and side portals, leading into the Cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, punctuate the façade dialogue with an ulterior third dimension of understanding. The horizontal narration across the pilasters of Orvieto cathedral’s façade acts as a preliminary introduction to the Virgin, presenting her to the viewer as the intermediary figure between the Old and New Testaments, before entering the body of the Cathedral itself, which was devoted to her (Fig. 56).

Middeldorf Kosegarten suggests that the figure at the base of the second acanthus scheme framing the Stories from the New Testament may well represent Adam rather than Jesse (Fig. 119).<sup>131</sup> In this case, the second Tree of Jesse on the pilaster on the south side of the central portal of the Orvietan cathedral façade may well represent the initial transformation of the Tree of Jesse iconography into the extremely popular fourteenth-century iconographical motif of the *Lignum Vitae*. An early example of which incidentally decorates the wall of the Orvietan parochial church of San Giovenale (Fig. 120). If it is indeed Adam represented at the base of the Tree of Jesse on the south side of the central portal in Orvieto, the iconography was likely to have been inspired by an episode narrated in the *Legenda aurea*, in which Seth, the son of Adam, in viewing the Tree of Life had a vision of a newborn child amongst its branches. Seth was then given some seeds by a guardian angel and instructed to bury them together with the body of his father at his death. Three trees grew from the body of Adam and eventually

<sup>129</sup> M. Seidel (1969), pp. 91-95, 156-157.

<sup>130</sup> Milanović (1989), p. 59.

<sup>131</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 54.

centuries later amalgamated to one, which was used for the cross on which Christ was crucified, and erected on Adam's gravesite. Seth's vision prophesies the salvation of Man. If the reclining figure on the southern pilaster at Orvieto is Adam, according to the story in the *Legenda aurea* the acanthus tendrils issuing from his belly must be Seth's tree.<sup>132</sup> An earlier combination of acanthus vine representing the wood from the true cross can be found in the twelfth century apse mosaics in the papal basilica of San Clemente in Rome (Fig. 117).<sup>133</sup>

To the left of the main portal the highest tendrils of acanthus on the Jesse Tree composition frame an angel, who appears to swoop down towards the figure of the Virgin in the ellipse below, foretelling the future annunciation of the Virgin (Fig. 80). Other visual motifs linking the horizontal narrative are the premonition of the Crucifixion in the acanthus roundel to the right of the Virgin in the first Tree of Jesse. The actual depiction of Christ's death is repeated in the identical position on the Jesse Tree enclosing New Testament scenes from the Life of Christ on the opposite pilaster (Fig. 108).<sup>134</sup> The prophets which compliment the Old Testament scenes in the northern Jesse Tree are replaced by angels which comment at the sides of the New Testament scenes.

At both Studenica and Constantinople, the Tree of Jesse was represented on an architectonic structure completely detached from the church building. Understanding the iconographic message of the Jesse Trees, respectively in the cloister and on the façade of the entrance tower of the monasteries of St. Mary Peribleptos and at Studenica, was not intrinsically linked to the appearance of the image on the wall surfaces of church edifices, as in both these two cases the entire monastery was dedicated to the Virgin. The external location of the Tree of Jesse on Orvieto's Cathedral of Santa Maria della Stella demonstrates that the creative mind behind its iconographic program was reasonably well informed about eastern theology and iconology.

The designers of Orvieto's decorative program were evidently well enough informed on Eastern thought to understand the importance of locating a monumental

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<sup>132</sup> Manna claims that this story from the *Legenda aurea* is the narrative basis for the Tree of Life iconography. Middeldorf Kosegarten's analysis of the second Tree of Jesse on the Orvieto façade suggests that the same passage may also have suggested the iconography at Orvieto. The choice of acanthus tendrils is also particularly appropriate in this context. Acanthus was associated with ancient Rome, the Episcopal seat of St. Peter and it is fitting that it should be used also to symbolise one of the most ancient trees in ecclesiastic history: the tree of the cross. Manna (2001), p. 88; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. by G.P. Maggioni, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Florence 1998), pp. 344-345.

<sup>133</sup> See pp. 61-62 of this chapter.

<sup>134</sup> Manna (2001), p. 88.

sized Tree of Jesse on a peripheral zone of its cathedral. The fact that prior to becoming cardinal, Girolamo d'Ascoli spent eighteen months in Constantinople as the leader of a legation of Gregory X charged with preparing the Paleologan Court for the proposed unification of the Orthodox and Roman Churches in Lyon, becomes highly significant.<sup>135</sup> The nature of this assignment - Girolamo and his companions were confronted with a large faction of the Byzantine clergy who openly disapproved of Michael Paleologo's 'avvicinamento' to Rome - must have tested the persuasive skills of all four Franciscan ambassadors.<sup>136</sup> A fact testified to by tales that Girolamo was an expert of the Greek language: «*Hic Ieronimus peritus in greca lingua pariter et latina*».<sup>137</sup> That Girolamo also extended his studies to Greek theology on this occasion is demonstrated by the contents of a communication received on 20 May 1274, after the official opening of the council on 4 May, to pope Gregory X from Girolamo and his companion Bonagrazia di San Giovanni in Persiceto who were accompanying the ambassadors of the Byzantine court on their way to Lyon.<sup>138</sup> This document provides us with the legate's views of Greek religious practices, some of which demonstrate a less than perfect understanding, indicating that the legate was still coming to grasp with the unfamiliar theology.<sup>139</sup>

Girolamo d'Ascoli's singular knowledge of Eastern theological matters among the higher ranks of ecclesiastic hierarchy<sup>140</sup> is further confirmed by the decision of Pope Innocent V, the successor of Pope Gregory X, to send him on a second mission to

<sup>135</sup> Girolamo was named Cardinal of Santa Pudenziana by Pope Nicholas III on 12 March 1278. Eubel (1960), p. 10; D. J. Geanakoplos, 'Bonaventura, the two mendicant orders and the Greeks at the Council of Lyon (1274)', *The Orthodox churches and the West*, ed. by D. Baker (Oxford 1976), pp. 195-223, p. 189; J. Gardner (1997), p. 2.

<sup>136</sup> L. Gatto, 'Il pontificato di Gregorio X', *Studi Storici*, 28-30 (Rome 1959), pp. 118-126.

<sup>137</sup> His ability to speak Greek as well as he spoke Latin was probably exaggerated as he was accompanied by a Greek-speaking chaplain during the negotiations in Constantinople. J. Gardner (1997), p. 2. A second manuscript in London dated 1274 repeats the same information: «*Grecorum ductor et interpret extitit in ultimum Concilium lugdunense*». Ms lat. 1106, f. 81r. Lambeth St. Pauls, London; A. Franchi, 'Girolamo d'Ascoli: origini e formazione', *Niccolò IV: Un pontificato tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. by E. Menestò, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno 14-17 dicembre 1989 (Spoleto 1991), pp. 21-38, p. 37.

<sup>138</sup> The letter was from the pope's ambassador to Constantinople, Girolamo d'Ascoli, and was received from Cape Leucas near Brindisi in Italy. Girolamo reached Lyon at some time prior to 28 May 1274 when Pope Gregory X received him and his companion Bonagrazia di San Giovanni in Persiceto. M.H. Laurent (1947), pp. 149-153; B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon* (Bonn 1964), pp. 130-134, 136, 229-231; A. Franchi, *Il Concilio II di Lione secondo la Ordinatio Concilii Generalis Lugdunensis* (Rome 1965), p. 76, n.11; Geanakoplos (1976), pp. 189, 198-199.

<sup>139</sup> Geanakoplos (1976), pp. 189-190.

<sup>140</sup> In his treatise *Opus Tripartitum*, the former Dominican minister-general Humbert of Romans states: «*At the present time knowledge of Greek is so rare in the Roman curia that almost no one can read the language. Indeed, it would be precious for union if Latins could read the theologically important Greek works...*». H. Wolter, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris 1965), pp. 268-276; Geanakoplos (1976), p. 196.

Constantinople in May 1276.<sup>141</sup> The Franciscan legation's scholarly approach to Eastern religious sentiment must have influenced the way these men viewed the splendours of Byzantine art on their inevitable visits to the churches in and around Constantinople and necessarily resulted in their more profound - although far from perfect - understanding of the religious doctrine which lay behind the Empire's art. Pope Nicholas IV's role in the planning stages of Orvieto Cathedral is likely to have been considerably more than that of the illustrious guest performing at public ceremonies and generous benefactor of local projects, he may well have contributed personally, alongside Bishop Francesco, to its complex decorative program.<sup>142</sup>

### The Last Judgement

The reliefs on the southernmost pilaster on Orvieto's cathedral façade conclude its narrative cycle (Fig. 82). The layout of the Last Judgement employs the same schematic vine scroll used in the Genesis reliefs to separate the sequence of events. The acanthus coils used in the Jesse Tree layout on the internal pilasters and the ivy separating the Genesis scenes are substituted with the eucharistic grape vine, bearing fruit (Fig. 102).<sup>143</sup>

Reading from the base upwards, the souls of the Elect and the Damned exit from sarcophagi at the base level and are met by guardian angels who escort the Saved to higher heavenly echelons or drive the Damned down into the infernal depths at the bottom right corner of the composition. This system of the Saved being shown in horizontally defined ranks above the collocation of Hell in the bottom right hand corner is common in Italian iconography of the Last Judgement.<sup>144</sup> The same format was used

<sup>141</sup> Girolamo is recorded as convalescing in the Franciscan Convent of Ara Coeli in Rome on 1 May 1276. Reference to his mission to Constantinople is recorded in a series of Bulls issued 23 May 1276. The Minister General of the Franciscans and his party of three other Franciscan friars left Rome towards the end of May. He never arrived in Constantinople because, as soon as the news of the death of Innocent V reached him in Ancona on 22 June 1276, he and his companions turned back and retraced their steps towards the papal seat. M.H. Laurent, *Le Bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarantaise) et son temps* (Studi e Testi 129) (Città del Vaticano 1947), p.279, 285. E. Pásztor, 'Girolamo d'Ascoli e Pietro di Giovanni Olivi', *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. by E. Menestò, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno, 14-17 December 1989 (Spoleto 1991), pp. 61-62.

<sup>142</sup> J. Gardner (1996), pp. 199-209; P. Perali, 'Le origini del Duomo d'Orvieto (1284-1309)', *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by L. Riccetti (Roma 1988), pp. 19-28.

<sup>143</sup> In his work on English medieval eucharistic images Eamon Duffy writes: "*The central image of Christ as the mystic vine, shedding his blood to quench our thirst, is derived not only from John 15, but from Isaiah 63, with its vision of a saviour robed in red as Christ was robed in his own blood on the cross, and who declares that "I have trodden the wine-press alone," a passage applied in the liturgy of Holy Week directly to Christ's Passion.*" Duffy (2005), p. 252.

<sup>144</sup> All four Pisano pulpits represent Hell in the same position of the Last Judgement composition. In particular, Nicola Pisano's Sienese pulpit of c. 1265 shows evident interest in the horizontal ranking of

in c.1090 for the Last Judgement fresco situated on the retro façade of Sant'Angelo in Formis near Capua (Fig. 121).<sup>145</sup> At the cathedral of Torcello in Venice, the twelfth century mosaic of the Last Judgement, which occupies the same interior west wall position as that of the church near Capua, goes so far as to compartmentalise Hell as well as Heaven (Fig. 122).<sup>146</sup> The same design is employed in the late thirteenth-century Florentine Baptistery mosaics (Fig. 89).<sup>147</sup> The fourteenth-century fresco of the Last Judgement at San Lorenzo in Genoa, although probably executed by a byzantine artist, was painted in the traditional Italian position on the inner west wall of the cathedral (Fig. 123).<sup>148</sup> In the Scrovegni chapel in Padua, Giotto relaxed the rigorous horizontal ranking system which dominated the earlier romanesque models and includes the River of Unquenchable Fire, which carries the Damned into the dark void of Hell (Fig. 124).<sup>149</sup> The Florentine master's fiery reddish flow leading to Hell is surprisingly similar to the mosaic representation of the Last Judgement executed in 1305 in the *pareccleseion* of the Kariye Camii in Byzantine Constantinople (Fig. 125).<sup>150</sup>

In all the cited examples of the Last Judgement, Christ represented in a mandorla orchestrates the action taking place. It is interesting to observe the enlarged dimensions of Christ in judgement, with respect to the representation of the figures of lower status at his sides and below him, in Saint'Angelo in Formis, the Baptistery of Florence and to a certain extent also in the Florentine artist Giotto di Bondone's painting in Padua (Figs. 121, 124, 89). This colossal figure of Christ dominates the scene. At Orvieto, Christ retains his human dimensions in relation to the figures surrounding him in accordance with the byzantine representations of the scene at Torcello and in the Kariye Camii (Figs. 82, 122, 125).

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the Elect, and it has been suggested that Arnolfo di Cambio work is visible in this panel of relief. Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), p. 65; E. Carli, *Arnolfo* (Florence 1993), p. 11.

<sup>145</sup> O. Morisani, *Gli Affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis* (Napoli 1962); Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), pp. 65-66.

<sup>146</sup> The Torcello mosaics are completed at the highest level with a representation of the Harrowing of Hell. David Talbot Rice dates the Last Judgement mosaic in the cathedral of Torcello to the first half of the twelfth century. Talbot Rice (1966), p. 181.

<sup>147</sup> Tigler (2006), p. 144.

<sup>148</sup> The fresco was probably painted during restorations of the cathedral in 1307 and 1312, and may well have been executed by the painter Marcus, who in a Genoese notarial document of 9 February 1313 declared «*ego magister Marchus Grecus pintor qui fui de Constantinopoli...*». R.S. Nelson, 'A Byzantine Painter in Trecento Genoa: The Last Judgement at San Lorenzo', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), pp. 555, 557-558.

<sup>149</sup> The Last Judgement in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua was painted by Giotto in 1303-1305. R. Salvini, *Tutta la pittura di Giotto* (Milan 1962), p. 24.

<sup>150</sup> Talbot Rice suggests that the iconography of both the Padua frescoes and those in the Byzantine city of Constantinople were drawn from the same sources. The angels rolling back the firmament, complete with the sun and the moon, in the upper region of Giotto's Final Judgement is the Italian interpretation of the Byzantine Angel holding the Scroll of Heaven in the Kariye Camii. Talbot Rice (1966), p. 229.



Amongst the throngs of the elect on the Orvietan cathedral façade a bishop is in conversation with the saints Dominic and Francis (Fig. 126). The bishop indicates with not one, but both hands the Franciscan to his left, gesturing towards his namesake Saint Francis and identifying himself as bishop Francesco, one of the primary initiators of the Orvieto cathedral project. Accompanying them at the same level are figures which have been associated with members of the *équipe* responsible for the cathedral's construction (Fig. 128). On the far left of the ledge an architect holds the tools of his trade and local legend identifies him as Lorenzo Maitani. The kneeling figure in front of him is thought to be Fra Bevegnate the Silvestrine monk who directed the Opera.<sup>151</sup> Whether the architect and monk portrayed are actually Maitani and Fra Bevegnate cannot be proved, although it is likely that the figure carrying the set square represents the *capomaestro* of the cathedral. This is supported by the appearance of a pope, bearded like representations of Nicholas IV and accompanied by high ranking members of the clergy, occupying the privileged position nearest Christ on the far right side of the ledge (Figs. 126, 127). Could it be that the founding saints of the Franciscan and Dominican orders are there to represent their order's participation in the project?<sup>152</sup> Saint Francis first appeared on French cathedral façades as a participant in the Last Judgement at the beginning of the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, but appears for the first time on a cathedral façade only much later in Italy, in Orvieto.<sup>153</sup> The mendicant saints Dominic and Francis appear in both the Final Judgement mosaics in Florence and in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (Figs. 89, 124). The Baptistry mosaics, which predate Giotto's frescoes, portray both saints as bearded. In 1305 Giotto represents the mendicant leaders as clean shaven. This 'sprucing up' of the Franciscan saint is linked to the rising power of the Conventual Franciscans, allied with the pontifical court from

<sup>151</sup> Riccetti (1996), p. 225, fig. 27; L. Riccetti, "L'Uópara de Sancta Maria Maghure". Protasi ad una storia sociale dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, Nuova serie, 15-20 (1990-1992), p. 179, fig.10.

<sup>152</sup> Fra' Giovanni di Buccio Leonardelli, documented as a friar of the third order of San Francesco in the years 1369 and 1370, is mentioned by Fumi regarding restoration of the windows in the tribune of the cathedral in 1367, and can possibly be identified with Perego Salvioni's frate Giovanni Leonardelli who was called to work on the windows of the cathedral as early as 1328. This same Franciscan tertiary worked on laying the plaster and cutting the glass for Andrea Orcagna's mosaic of the Baptism of Christ begun in November 1359. He was paid 50 florins in 1363 for his mosaic of the Annunciation to Anne and was responsible alongside Ugolino di Prete Ilario for the cathedral of Orvieto's only surviving medieval mosaic (c.1365) representing the Nativity of the Virgin, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Fumi (2002), pp. 104, 193, 200; C. Harding, 'I mosaici della facciata (1321 – ca. 1390)', in *Il duomo di Orvieto*, ed. L. Riccetti (Rome 1988), p. 128.

<sup>153</sup> The terminus *antequem* for the Judgement Portal at Amiens is 1228/9, which means that the reliefs of saint Francis could possibly predate the first known Italian representation of the saint, the wooden panel painting by Bonaventura Berlinghieri at the church of San Francesco in Pescia of 1235. J. Gardner, 'Fratelli in facciata: i francescani e la scultura gotica', *Convegno Internazionale di studi, Parma*, ed. by A. Quintavalle, September 2004, in press.

the time of the Franciscan generalate of Giovanni da Murro (1296-1304) on, in their efforts to promote themselves over the Spiritual Franciscans, who tenaciously continued to literally interpret Francis's vows of poverty and in doing so represented a potential threat to the papacy.<sup>154</sup> This politically inspired alteration of saint Francis's image – Francis is described with a beard by Tommaso da Celano – took place at some time between 1290, when the saint is shown with a beard in the apse mosaics executed by Jacopo Torriti for pope Nicholas IV in Giovanni Laterano and c.1295, when as a result of the same patronage, Torriti portrayed saint Francis as clean shaven in the apse mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 127).<sup>155</sup> This politically correct representation of the Franciscan leader continued to be illustrated until the Florentine artist Taddeo Gaddi returned to portraying him as bearded.

Bellosi points out that the only true to life images of a bearded saint Francis executed at the beginning of the fourteenth century were Simone Martini's Angevin commissions in the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi.<sup>156</sup> The Anjou dynasty had long been sympathisers of the Spiritual Franciscan faction. The imprisoned offspring of King Charles II d'Anjou wrote for comfort to Pietro Olivi, the Spiritualistic movement's most important exponent whose literary works had been censured by the curia for their extremist notions. Prince Louis d'Anjou, who was to abdicate his right to the throne in favour of the Franciscan habit, obviously came under the influence of the Spiritual Franciscan movement. His younger brother, Robert d'Anjou was the author of a treatise meditating on the poverty of Christ and his apostles, which openly supported the Spiritualistic theories on Poverty.<sup>157</sup>

Another image of saint Francis with a beard from the beginning of the fourteenth century does however exist. Both saint Francis and saint Dominic in the Last Judgement scene on the Orvieto cathedral façade are bearded (Fig. 126). The pope standing behind Francis's left shoulder, also wears his facial hair proudly in the same manner as Pope Nicholas IV in Torriti's San Giovanni in Lateran mosaic (Fig. 127).<sup>158</sup> The close vicinity of the pope to the Franciscan order's leading saint, his identical pose of pious adoration and the similarity of his portrayal to Torriti's mosaics in the Lateran do make

<sup>154</sup> L. Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto* (Torino 1985), pp. 3-9.

<sup>155</sup> Bellosi (1985), pp. 3-9, 30, n.1; F. Thomae De Celano, *Vita prima S. Francisci*, XXIX 83: «*Barba nigra, pilis non plene respersa*».

<sup>156</sup> Bellosi (1985), p. 7.

<sup>157</sup> Bellosi (1985), pp. 6-7.

<sup>158</sup> The original thirteenth-century mosaics in the Lateran were restored in the nineteenth century, which leaves open the question as to whether Francis's beard was a nineteenth century addition. Gardner (1973), p. 2.

one wonder whether the papal figure is not Nicholas IV himself.<sup>159</sup> Saint Francis's beard on the other hand serves to link Orvieto's western façade's iconographic program to the Angevin circle of political influence, which in its turn may serve to explain the predominance of French inspired motifs in its design.

### Illustrations for the Laity

It is the choice of surface area for the application of the cathedral's sculpted reliefs and the way in which the narrative is developed over that surface which denotes a remarkable cultural difference between the decoration at Orvieto and that of French cathedrals (Fig. 6). The narrative progression from left to right across the four pilasters of the façade reads like the unbound pages of a medieval manuscript, boldly enlarged and posted along the staccatoed horizontal axis. Within each of the four chapters, the lucid division of episodes into rectangular or circular frames calls to mind thirteenth-century illuminations such as those found in the *Bible moralisée* divided between the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the British Library in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, or the *Apocalypse* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>160</sup> The traces of colour found on both the bronze and marble figures of the sculptural tableau above the central portal of Orvieto cathedral's façade, in addition to the remnants of glass jewels applied to the surface of the throne, attest to the original colorful nature of the Maestà (Fig. 40).<sup>161</sup>

Orvieto's façade reliefs were intended to be read by both secular and religious public alike, and the clear outline of their figures against the smooth unworked marble background of each scene facilitates the understanding of even the poorest christian (Fig. 95).<sup>162</sup> These smooth stone surfaces differ from the predominant busy medieval

<sup>159</sup> The papal figure is wearing exactly the same crown as pope Benedict XI (m. 1304) wears in his tomb in San Domenico in Perugia. M. Semff, 'Textiler Festschmuck in Stein? Überlegungen zu den Orvietaner Fassadenreliefs', *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, XXXVIII (1987), p. 90, fig. 9. Behind the figure of Nicholas IV stands a cardinal. Could this possibly be the Orvietan cardinal Theodoric Ranieri?

<sup>160</sup> *Bible Moralisée*, Oxford, Bodl. Lib. 270b; Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11560 and British Library, Harley, 1526-1527. The complete *Bible Moralisée* is divided between Oxford, London and Paris and was produced by a Parisian workshop in c. 1234-1245. *Apocalypse*, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 403. The *Apocalypse* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was illuminated at Salisbury in c. 1250. J. Baschet, *Les Justices de l'Au-delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – XVe siècle)* (Rome 1993), pp. 270, 261; R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles* (Berkeley 1977), pp. 49-65; S. Lewis, 'The Enigma of fr. 403 and the Compilation of a Thirteenth-Century English Illustrated Apocalypse', *Gesta*, XXIX (1990), pp. 31-43.

<sup>161</sup> L. Luzi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Florence 1866), pp. 38, 360-362; *La cattedrale di Orvieto Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo*, ed. G. Testa (Rome 1990), pp. 141-151; A. Lo Presti, *Le arti ad Orvieto. Proposta per un dizionario* (Orvieto 2006), pp. 30-31.

<sup>162</sup> The representations of the Genesis and the Last Judgement on the external pilasters are particularly comprehensive.

style characterised by narrative teeming with cramped figures, architecture and pattern. The didactic intentions of the patronage behind Orvieto's façade reliefs obviously far outweighed the prevailing medieval aesthetic taste known as *horror vacui*. This is unusual when compared to contemporary sculpture such as the narrative relief panels on the Sienese sculptor Goro di Gregorio's Arca di San Cerbone in the cathedral of Massa Marittima or the small engraved silver panels of translucent enamel which narrate the Stories of the Miracle of Bolsena and from the Life of Christ on the Reliquary of the Corporal inside the cathedral of Orvieto (Fig. 129).<sup>163</sup> The sombre, clearly articulated forms which characterise Orvieto's façade reliefs, in particular those on the peripheral pilasters, are much more in keeping with the carefully measured forms of Tino di Camaino, who in his turn was a primary influence for the poised gothic elegance of Agostino di Giovanni (Fig. 44).<sup>164</sup>

It is interesting to follow the development of sepulchral aesthetics through the second half of the thirteenth century into the beginning of the fourteenth century, which demonstrates a progression in many ways parallel to that already observed on French and Italian Romanesque church façades. The early French Romanesque façades of Saint-Gilles du Gard, of Saint-Trophime in Arles, of Sainte-Foy at Conques and of Saint-Lazare in Autun all have extensive relief cycles which read in continuous horizontal friezes across the portal architraves of their western façades (Figs. 83, 84, 86, 87).<sup>165</sup> In Italy panels of relief narration can still be observed on the façade of San Pietro at Spoleto, flanking the main portal of the cathedral of San Zeno in Verona and in the sculpted episodes of Wiligelmo, on the façade of the cathedral of Modena (Figs. 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66).<sup>166</sup> This Romanesque use of relief sculpture as a didactic means

<sup>163</sup> Arca di San Cerbone, Cathedral of Massa Marittima, finished in 1324. R. Bartalini, 'Per la scultura senese del Trecento: Agostino di Giovanni', *Prospettiva*, 108 (2002), p. 9. Reliquary of the Corporal, Cathedral of Orvieto, signed and dated 1338: «+Hoc opus fecit fieri Dominus Frater Tramus Episcopus Urbetanus et D. Angelus Archipresbiter et D. Ligus Capelanus Domini Pape et D. Nicholaus de Alatro et D. Fredus et D. Ninus et D. Leonardus Canoneci Urbetani + per magistrum Ugolinum et socios aurifices de Senis factum fuit sub anno Domini MCCCXXXVIII tempore Domini Benedicti Pape XII». P. Dal Poggetto, 'Ugolino di Vieri: gli smalti di Orvieto', *Forma e Colore. I grandi cicli dell'arte* (Firenze 1965), p. 1; Freni (2000), pp. 117-147.

<sup>164</sup> The busy nature of Goro di Gregorio's style exemplifies the sculptural current which followed the precocious lead of Siena's goldsmiths in its taste for the busy beauty of *horror vacui* inherited from northern gothic art. The stylistic roots of the master sculptor responsible for the Genesis and Last Judgement Scenes in Orvieto can be found in the measured gothic elegance of Marco Romano, present in Sienese territory at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Bartalini (2002), p. 10; G. Previtali, 'Alcune opere "fuori contesto". Il caso di Marco Romano', *Bollettino d'arte*, 22 (1983), pp. 62-63.

<sup>165</sup> Aubert (1947), pp. 101, 125; Grivot, Zarnecki (1962), pp. 10, 30-57, 162; Carlson (1976), pp. 796-798. The façade decoration of the Church of Saint-Trophime at Arles can be dated to before 1170. Grodecki (1986), I, p. 417.

<sup>166</sup> The sculpted reliefs on the facade of the Church of San Pietro, Spoleto were produced by two different workshops and date to the last quarter of the twelfth century. J. Esch, *La chiesa di San Pietro di Spoleto*.

seems to have culminated in the ambitious expansion of biblical narration which fully covers the lower façade surfaces on the western front of Orvieto cathedral (Fig. 44).

Perhaps the best known early Italian examples of reliefs used to convey sequential biblical narrative in an ecclesiastic context are the sculpted pulpits of the workshops of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. Nicola's six panels illustrating episodes from the New Testament on the Pisan pulpit were such a success that both he and his son Giovanni repeated and elaborated the formula to produce a series of four pulpits, in an escalation of ambitious splendour (Figs. 130, 131, 132, 133).<sup>167</sup> Unlike the reliefs in Orvieto, the Pisano panels were not attached to a single two dimensional surface. In order to understand the narrative, the viewer was obliged to move anticlockwise - reading from left to right - around the polygonal or circular sides of the pulpits. In much the same manner a spectator could read the narration on funeral monuments such as the Arca di San Domenico in the church of San Domenico in Bologna or Goro di Gregorio's Arca di San Cerbone in the cathedral at Massa Marittima and the later Arca di San Pietro Martire in the church of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan (Fig. 134).<sup>168</sup>

Unlike the free standing *Arca*, wall tombs, which enjoyed a fashionable revival in late thirteenth-century Italy, employed a sarcophagus which was often frontally partitioned by three narrative relief panels and little to no motory effort was required of their observer in order to read their message.<sup>169</sup> In his analysis of the medieval reformulation of the Roman illustrated wall sarcophagus, Roberto Bartolini traces its original medieval use back to the workshop of Nicola Pisano. In particular to a relief panel of the Stigmatization of San Francesco of Assisi which once formed part of the tripartite narration of a funerary sarcophagus, together with a panel illustrating the

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*La facciata e le sculture* (Florence 1981), p. 127. The relief panels at Verona were traditionally dated to c. 1138, however Kain dates them later to the middle of the twelfth century and Sauerländer agrees with her. Kain (1981), p. 373; Sauerländer (1985), I, p. 77; Frugoni (1984), p. 422.

<sup>167</sup> Nicola Pisano, *Pisan Pulpit*, Baptistery of Pisa, signed and dated in 1260. Nicola Pisano, *Pulpit of Siena*, cathedral of Siena, Nicola Pisano signed a contract for the pulpit in 1265 and completed it in 1268. Giovanni Pisano, *Pulpit of Pistoia*, church of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia, completed in 1301. Giovanni Pisano, *Pulpit of Pisa*, cathedral of Pisa, he was commissioned to execute the pulpit in 1302 and had probably completed it by the death of Margaret of Luxemburg in 1310, whose tomb he sculpted in Genoa. Although the Genoese tomb probably wasn't commissioned until 1313. E. Carli, *Il pulpito di Sant'Andrea a Pistoia* (Milano 1986), p. 11; A. Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola & Giovanni Pisano: The Pulpits* (London 2005), pp. 333-338.

<sup>168</sup> Workshop of Nicola Pisano (fra Guglielmo?), *Arca di San Domenico*, church of San Domenico, Bologna, c. 1267. Goro di Gregorio completed the Arca di San Cerbone for the cathedral in Massa Marittima in 1324. Bartolini (2002), p. 9. Giovanni di Balduccio, *Arca di san Pietro Martire*, church of Sant'Eustorgio, Milano (1335-1339). E. Carli, 'Giovanni di Balduccio a Milano', *La nuova città dal Comune alla Signoria*, ed. by C. Bertelli (Milan 1989), p. 83.

<sup>169</sup> R. Bartolini, 'Nicola Pisano: un rilievo pistoiese e le origini del sarcofago parietale', *Prospettiva*, 115-116 (2004), p. 31; A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, 'Identifizierung eines Grabmals von Nicola Pisano. Zur Genese des Reliefsarkophags in der Toskana', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXII, 1978, pp. 119-145, pp. 139-141.

*Elevatio animae* of an unknown bishop once held in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, which he suggests originally formed part of a funerary monument sculpted by Nicola Pisano and his workshop for the church of San Francesco of Pistoia.<sup>170</sup>

Tino di Camaino's later funeral monument for cardinal Riccardo Petroni (†1314) is an *exemple par excellence* of this narrative tomb type. The Petroni sarcophagus' three biblical episodes are dominated by the central relief panel of the Resurrection, with illustrations of *Noli me tangere* and Doubting Thomas flanking it (Fig. 135). Obviously, the sequential progression of reading the scenes from left to right across the sarcophagus' surface does not yet apply. Tino is still reliant on the centralised scheme of narrative commonly used on the tympanum reliefs above the great French cathedral portals (Figs. 42, 51).<sup>171</sup> The Petroni tomb's relief narrative must have been an immediate success as Tino employed it again on his tomb for the patriarch of Aquileia Gaston de la Tour (†1318) for the church of Santa Croce in Florence only a few years later.<sup>172</sup> Tino continued to use the illustrated sarcophagus in funerary monuments commissioned of him in Naples, as is shown by the funerary monuments executed for Raimondo Cabano (†1334) in the church of Santa Chiara of Naples and of Djalta Firrao (†1338) in the church of San Domenico Maggiore in the same city.<sup>173</sup>

Tombs employing narrative relief work such as Tino's became highly fashionable in Tuscan circles of sculptors and patronage, and the narrative formula was repeated, developed and amplified to such a point, that the sarcophagus face reached truly monumental dimensions in the sixteen narrative panels on the tomb of bishop Guido Tarlati in the cathedral of Arezzo completed by Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura in 1330 (Fig. 136).<sup>174</sup> A more modest example of extended tomb narrative exists on the funerary monument of Beata Margherita da Cortona, which has four scenes on the sarcophagus and two directly below it, in identical positions to those below the sarcophagus on Tarlati's tomb.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>170</sup> The marble relief of the Stigmatization of San Francesco which Bartalini attributes to Nicola Pisano is now held in the Museo civico in Palazzo degli Anziani in Pistoia. The panel illustrating the *Elevatio animae* of the bishop is known thanks to a stucco copy of the original panel held in the gypsotech of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin. In 1273 Nicola Pisano signed a contract with the cathedral of San Jacopo in Pistoia to restore the altar of the city's patron saint. The tomb was probably commissioned and executed in this period. Bartalini (2004), pp. 12, 21-23, 28, 31.

<sup>171</sup> See "The Sculpted Reliefs", pp. 40-41 of this chapter.

<sup>172</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Tino di Camaino's development of narrative reliefs on the sarcophagus of funeral monuments see: Bartalini (2004), p. 28.

<sup>173</sup> Bartalini (2004), p. 28.

<sup>174</sup> Agostino di Giovanni worked together with Agnolo di Ventura on the Tarlati Tomb from 1328-1330. Bartalini (2002), pp. 2, 9.

<sup>175</sup> The tomb was originally painted. The monument has been attributed to the Siennese sculptor Gano di Fazio, and it was sculpted in the second or third decade of the fourteenth century. J. Cannon, A. Vauchez,

This trend for greater and grander liturgical narrative observed here in tomb sculpture is just as evident in works of art such as the *Maestà* completed by the Siennese painter Duccio di Buoninsegna for the high altar of the cathedral in Siena in 1311, the twenty-one relief panels illustrating scenes from the Life of Christ and San Jacopo commissioned of the goldsmith Andrea di Iacopo d'Ognabene by the Opera of the cathedral in Pistoia in 1316, the sculpted narration on the façade pilasters of the cathedral in Orvieto executed from 1310 to 1330 and the translucent enamelled plaques illustrating the miracle of the relics and Scenes from the Life of Christ which decorate the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal finished in 1338 for the same cathedral (Figs. 44, 129, 137, 138).<sup>176</sup> Evidently, comprehensive visual communication of liturgical subjects, in particular subjects from the New Testament and to a minor extent local saints and legends, had become essential in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>177</sup> Alongside this amplification in the narrative message, one senses a subtle shift in the intended audience of these works of art. The early narrative tombs involved the intimate relationship of an individual to God and the hereafter, Duccio's narrative panels decorated the back of the *Maestà*, and were therefore intended to be viewed by members of the clergy and the rare privileged member of the lay public. The smaller dimensions of the reliquaries means that their lengthy observation may have again been a luxury reserved for the privileged few who managed to obtain individual access to

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*Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti. Siennese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany* (University Park 1999), pp. 66-80, fig. 32.

<sup>176</sup> Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Maestà* is documented in the "Carta di patti" signed between the painter and the "operaio Operis sancte Marie de Senis" Jacopo del fu Gilberto Mariscotti in 1308 and in the payments to four musicians who accompanied the procession from the painter's workshop to the high altar of the Siennese Cathedral in 1311. G. Ragionieri, 'Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà*', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, ed. A. Bagnoli, R. Bartalini, L. Bellosi, M. Laclotte, ex. Cat. Santa Maria della Scala, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 October 2003 – 11 January 2004 (Milan 2003), pp. 208-231; M. Pellegrini, 'Documenti', *Maestà*', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, ed. A. Bagnoli, R. Bartalini, L. Bellosi, M. Laclotte, ex. Cat. Santa Maria della Scala, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 October 2003 – 11 January 2004 (Milan 2003), pp. 512-513. The name of the goldsmith Andrea di Iacopo d'Ognabene is recorded with the date 1316 on the altar, which is first documented in 1287 and reached its final form in around 1456. L. Gai, *L'altare d'argento di San Jacopo nel Duomo di Pistoia* (Turin 1984), pp. 13, 16; J. Beck, 'Review of *L'altare d'argento di San Jacopo nel Duomo di Pistoia* by Lucia Gai', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986), p. 108. For the date of the decoration of the lower level of the Orvieto Cathedral façade see: R. Bonelli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'architettura italiana del Duecento Trecento*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Perugia 2003), p. 231. For the date of the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal in the Cathedral of Orvieto see: Freni (2000), p. 119.

<sup>177</sup> One has only to think of the early fourteenth-century Siennese wooden panel paintings by Duccio di Buoninsegna, illustrating an extensive New Testament cycle on the *Maestà* for the Siennese cathedral and that of Simone Martini illustrating stories from the life and miracles of Beato Agostino Novello for the Church of Sant'Agostino in the same town. Giovanna Ragionieri, 'Maestà by Duccio di Buoninsegna', in *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, exhib. Cat., Siena, Santa Maria della Scala – Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 ottobre 2003 – 11 gennaio 2004, ed. A. Bagnoli, R. Bartalini, L. Bellosi, M. Laclotte (Milano 2003), pp. 208-231; A. Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford 1988), pp. 211-214.

them.<sup>178</sup> A medieval cathedral façade, on the other hand, was tantamount to today's neon billboards in New York's Times Square and addressed all the living.

During its periods of papal occupation, Orvieto was in fact quite a cosmopolitan hub of activity, and some of the city's most important religious festivities were destined to take place in piazza del Duomo (Fig. 6).<sup>179</sup> On the religious festivities dedicated to the Virgine Assunta which took place mid-August, the piazza and the cathedral steps were swept, cleaned and provided with an altar for the ceremony.<sup>180</sup> Garlands of flowers and cloth banners were made to decorate the cathedral and the piazza for both the festivities for the *Assunta* and the *Corpus Domini*.<sup>181</sup> In this context of outdoor festivities, the cathedral façade and steps leading up to it can be perceived as a type of stage, complete with backdrop, for religious theatre. The theatrical representations of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ such as those produced in Prà della Valle near Padua in 1243, in Treviso in 1261, in Rome in 1298, in Cividale in 1304 and in Florence in 1304 were also performed in Orvieto, and what better place to hold the performance than on the steps of the cathedral during the summer festivities of the

<sup>178</sup> Reliquaries were most likely to be housed in dedicatory chapels, and therefore access to them would have been restricted by the size of the chapel that contained them. Relics also formed perhaps the most enticing attraction for practicing Christians in the Middle Ages, who would flock to them in hopes of being blessed by their miraculous qualities. The reduced dimensions of reliquaries, their enclosure within often small cramped quarters, combined with the multitudes who flocked to see them, meant that unless the observer had privileged access to the reliquary outside the hours it was normally exposed to the general public, only the most persistent and determined members of the public would have managed to get close enough to the reliquary and maintain that position long enough to read and meditate on the narrative episodes illustrated.

<sup>179</sup> The difference in level between the entrance to the cathedral and the piazza below it naturally provided a type of stage for the ceremonies which were performed. The aspect of the piazza del Duomo in Orvieto today results from the sixteenth century project, which involved major demolition and earthworks in order to make the area surrounding the cathedral level. However Ugolino di Prete Ilario's fresco of Pope Urban IV showing the relic of the Holy Corporal to the crowd gathered in Piazza del Duomo, located in the cappella del Corporale of the cathedral of Orvieto, demonstrates that at least by 1357-1364 a rough edition of the piazza already existed. References to the public space in front of the cathedral at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth century refer to it more as a field: «*ad traendum campanuam novam ab hospitale in platea S. Marie maioris*» Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Camerari, 61, c. 416v. 1398 settembre 14; «*in platea S. Marie ante ecclesiam S. Iacobi hospitalis S. Marie de Stella*», Archivio di Stato, Orvieto, Notarile, 173, notaio Gabriele d'Antonio, c. 8r, 1403 febbraio 23. Riccetti (1992), p. 191; L. Riccetti, «*...Pro platea iam incepta et nondum finita...*» La piazza del Duomo di Orvieto tra cantiere e ruolo civico (secoli XIII – XVI), *B.I.S.A.O.*, 46-47, 1990-1991 (Orvieto 1997), pp. 231, 233, n.148.

<sup>180</sup> «*...pro festo dicte ecclesie S. Marie de agosto quod erit de mense presenti scopetur et remuniatur et ponatur ibi loggia comunis Urbis veteris et fiat ibi quoddam altare pro reverentia dicte S. Marie et hec fiant ex vestro officio quo melius potest et oblatio fieri debeat pro opere dicte ecclesie.*» Riccetti (1992), pp. 183, 191; M. Rossi Caponeri, 'Il duomo e l'attività edilizia dei Signori Sette (1295-1313)', *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. L. Riccetti (Rome 1988), p. 49; Archivio di Stato di Orvieto, Rif., 69, c. 16v, 1295 ago. 5.

<sup>181</sup> The festivities for the Corpus Domini spilled out of the church into the streets and included a procession which paraded the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal through the city. Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto, Cam., XX, c. 470 r., 1448 mag.25; Riccetti (1992), p. 191; Freni (2000), p. 124.



*Corpus Domini*.<sup>182</sup> The steps leading up to church entrances had a history of theatrical employment in Orvieto. Perhaps with less willing actors, but nonetheless there to be seen, the annual taxes due *in recognitionem dominii* to the Comune of Orvieto were paid on the steps of the Church of Sant'Andrea on the eve of the holy day of the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 25).<sup>183</sup> In 1310 Ugolino Monaldeschi ceremoniously knighted his sons Bonconte and Giovanni, amongst other youths, on the steps of the same church.<sup>184</sup>

The mendicant orders had recognised the value of the public piazza as grounds for reaching out and preaching to the populace. According to Tommaso de Celano, Francesco had sent his brothers out into the world's piazze with the words: "*Andate, carissimi, a due a due, per le varie parti del mondo e annunciate agli uomini la pace e la penitenza in remissione dei peccate; e siate pazienti nelle tribolazioni, sicuri che il Signore adempirà il suo disegno e manterrà le sue promesse. Rispondete con umiltà a chi vi interroga, benedite chi vi perseguita, ringrazate chi vi ingiuria e vi calunnia, perché in cambio vi viene preparato il regno eterno.*"<sup>185</sup> Two fifteenth-century paintings by Sano di Pietro in the Pinocoteca di Siena document the enormous crowds attracted by San Bernardino da Siena, preaching in piazza del Campo and the public square in front of the church of San Francesco in Siena, and there is no reason to doubt that such lectures could have also been held by the mendicant orders in the piazzas of Orvieto (Fig. 139).<sup>186</sup> Piazza del Duomo in Orvieto also housed the thirteenth-century Papal Palaces, and the many papal balconies built to house papal shows of public loquaciousness on the papal palaces of San Giovanni in Lateran, Anagni, Bologna provide further supporting evidence that the painted documentation in the Duomo of Orvieto of Urban IV addressing the crowds of listening citizens in piazza del Duomo cannot be dismissed as a singular incident (Fig. 112).<sup>187</sup> A historic precedent for papal

<sup>182</sup> H. Thode, *Francesco d'Assisi e le origini dell'arte del Rinascimento in Italia*, ed. L. Bellosi (Rome 1993), p. 352.

<sup>183</sup> W. Valentini, *La insigne collegiata dei Ss. Bartolomeo e Andrea di Orvieto. Documenti e note* (Orvieto 1920), p. 6.

<sup>184</sup> Valentini (1920), p. 6.

<sup>185</sup> Thode (1993), p. 27; Tommaso da Celano, *Legenda prima sancti Francisci assisiensis*, in *Acta Sanctorum* (October, vol.2), IV, p. 691.

<sup>186</sup> These two wooden panels were commissioned by the *Confraternità della Vergine* before 1448. K. Christiansen, 'San di Pietro's San Bernardino Panels', *The Burlington Magazine*, 133 (1991), p. 451; M. Mallory, G. Freuler, 'Sano di Pietro's Bernardino Altar-Piece for the Compagnia della Vergine di Siena', *The Burlington Magazine*, 133 (1991), pp. 186-192.

<sup>187</sup> Urban IV's public proclamation of the miracle of the Holy Corporal from the Loggia Vescovile in Piazza del Duomo at Orvieto was immortalised by Ugolino di Prete Ilario on the walls of the chapel of the Holy Corporal in the cathedral. See p.74, n.176 of this chapter for the date of the Reliquary of Bolsena

addresses in Orvietan piazzas is given by a chronicler who testifies that a crowd of people gathered «*quam nec maior ecclesia nec platea Communis capere poterat*» in the field near the church of Sant'Egidio in Orvieto when pope Innocent III preached the crusade on Sunday, 1 May 1216.<sup>188</sup>

The uniqueness of the relief narrative on the façade pilasters at the Orvieto cathedral is due to the historic moment in which it was planned and executed (Fig. 44). It was a moment in which the Church had become sensitised, as a result of the insistence of the mendicant orders, to the need for providing comprehensive religious instruction for all members of the laity. It was also a moment when the catholic dogma recited inside the churches was no longer an adequate response to the public's religious fervour, whose curiosity needed satisfying in a more omnipresent and complete fashion. It makes sense that such a project should stem from the first mendicant pope to occupy the throne of Saint Peter. As a Franciscan, Nicholas IV was at ease with the concept of making the catholic religion accessible to the masses by bringing it out into the public piazza. His patronage of Jacopo Torriti's mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano and Guccio di Mannaia's chalice for the Franciscan church in Assisi betray his penchant for luxurious displays of colour (Figs. 32, 37).

The sophistication of the iconography illustrated on the façade of the cathedral in Orvieto and its insistence on didactic communication clearly reveal the collaboration of a highly cultured individual or group of individuals behind the actual execution of its mosaics and reliefs. The minds behind the iconographic programme were likely to have been members of the court of the Nicholas IV and certainly the unusually complex Eastern iconography of the Jesse Tree pilaster can be read as a further confirmation of the personal interest of the Franciscan pope himself in the project. It is fitting that such scholastic concern with the education of the viewer should originate from the court of a Franciscan pope and the clarity of the layout of the Orvietan façade reliefs, when compared to French examples, clearly supports this hypothesis.

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and pp. 87-90 of Chapter 3 of this thesis for further discussion of Ugolino di Prete Ilario's wall paintings in the Chapel of the Holy Corporal.

<sup>188</sup> A. Satolli, 'Storia e struttura urbana di Orvieto medievale', *Orvieto: progetto per una città utopica* (Siena 1985), pp. 146-147; M. Maccarone, *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Bologna 1970), p. 135.

### 3 The Cathedral and its Contents

Having examined the cathedral architecture and the decoration on its façade in the previous two chapters of this thesis, this chapter addresses the visual dynamics of repetitive motifs occurring in both the external decoration of the church and in its internal ornamentation. The execution of the apse and transept chapel fresco decoration, which was begun by Ugolino di Prete Ilario at the beginning of the fourteenth century and finished by Luca Signorelli in the sixteenth century, is examined with particular attention to its iconographic content in an attempt to demonstrate the sense of continuity which pervaded the cathedral's decorative campaign through time. Two important pieces of church furniture are also included in the study, together with a detailed consideration of Rubeus's bronze architrave over the Porta del Vescovado.

In his doctoral thesis examining Ugolino di Prete Ilario's narrative frescoes on the Life of the Virgin, Cox Zimeri states that "a master plan calling for a concordance of façade and Apse decorations did indeed exist".<sup>1</sup> He points to correlations in subject matter between the Orvieto cathedral façade mosaics and the apse frescoes, the narrative sequence progressing from the ground upwards in both cycles and the iconographical division of both mosaics and frescoes into three distinct narrative zones, as evidence (Figs. 6, 140, 141, 142, 143). Zimeri's observation of decorative correspondences between two very separate functional parts of the cathedral has also been applied to the Reliquary of the Corporal and the façade of the architectural body containing it (Figs. 6, 129).<sup>2</sup> Although it has been noted that the cathedral façade was completed only at the end of the sixteenth century - and indeed at the time the reliquary was produced, at the very most only the lower part of the façade sculpture had been completed - the existence of at least two earlier preparatory drawings showing the distinctive tricuspidal silhouette characteristic to both reliquary and façade, make it impossible to completely dismiss the

<sup>1</sup> A. Cox Zimeri, 'Ugolino di Prete Ilario. Painter and Mosaicist' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1976), p. 12. It has been suggested that the Nativity scenes painted by Ugolino di Prete Ilario in the cathedral apse were drawn from the Creation plays performed in Orvieto at least as early as the fourteenth century and that perhaps the façade sculptures might also have been inspired by the same source. J.M. Henderson, 'Piety and Heresy in Medieval Orvieto: The Religious Life of the Laity, c. 1150-1350' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1990), p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> M. Ingendaay Rodio, 'Una nuova tappa degli interventi di restauro a Orvieto. Un reliquiario di Ugolino di Vieri', *Arte Cristiana*, 81 (1993), p. 57; P. Leone de Castris, 'Il reliquiario del Corporale a Orvieto e lo smalto senese di primo Trecento', *Il Duomo di Orvieto e le grandi cattedrali del Duecento*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Orvieto, 12-14 novembre 1990, ed. G. Barlozzetti (Torino 1995), p.170; M.M. Gauthier, *Émaux du moyen âge occidental* (Fribourg 1972), 221; P. Dal Poggetto, *Ugolino di Vieri: gli smalti di Orvieto* (Florence 1965), p.1.

evident structural similarities as pure coincidence (Figs. 26, 27).<sup>3</sup> I would like to suggest that this visual repetition was in fact deliberate and was employed as a didactic tool throughout the construction of the Orvieto cathedral.<sup>4</sup>

Scenes from the Passion and Resurrection were included in both the mosaics and the sculpted reliefs on the façade, these same themes are illustrated on the wall behind the altar in the Chapel of the Corporal and can also be found in the translucent enamels which decorated the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal.<sup>5</sup> On the lower gable above the north portal on the façade, the mosaic of John the Baptist baptising Christ aptly sits above the two north pilaster relief cycles which are occupied in the vast majority by Old Testament figures (Fig. 144).<sup>6</sup> The Baptist is clearly placed on the northern side of the cathedral among the Old Testament protagonists of the bible: those who gained access to Paradise through Christ's resurrection. Beyond the Baptist's portal, in the interior north aisle of the cathedral nave sits the baptismal font which provided the key to Paradise for the Christian populace in Medieval Orvieto, echoing the function of

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Freni reminds us that the façade was unfinished at the time the Chapel of the Corporal was being decorated and makes no mention of the structural similarities in his study. G. Freni, 'The reliquary of the Holy Corporal in the cathedral of Orvieto: patronage and politics', in *Art, Politics and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261-1352*, ed. J. Cannon and B. Williamson (Cambridge, 2000), p. 135, n.9. Riccetti points out that discussion of the "cause and effect" relationship between the Eucharistic miracle and the construction of the cathedral has been a constant reoccurrence in Orvietan studies and cites Pope John Paul II who spoke of the matter in occasion of the feast of the Corpus Domini on 17 June 1990: "anche se la sua costruzione (del Duomo) non è collegata direttamente all' solennità del Corpus Domini, istituita dal papa Urbano IV con la Bolla Transitus, nel 1264, né al miracolo avvenuto a Bolsena l'anno precedente, è però indubbio che il mistero eucaristico è qui potentemente evocato dal corporale di Bolsena, per il quale venne appositamente fabbricata la cappella, che ora lo custodisce gelosamente". L. Riccetti, 'Le origini dell'Opera, Lorenzo Maitani e l'architettura del Duomo di Orvieto', in *Opera. Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all'inizio dell'età moderna*. Atti della Tavola Rotonda, Villa i Tatti, Firenze, 3 aprile 1991, ed. M. Haines and L. Riccetti (Firenze 1996), p.168, n.18. For the date of the façade reliefs, see J. White, 'The reliefs on the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 22 (1959), p. 299. Riccetti gives an accurate summary of the study on the façade reliefs and the varied conclusions regarding the dated of them in his article on the cathedral mentioned in this note. Riccetti (1996), pp. 178-183.

<sup>4</sup> The didactic role of the Orvieto cathedral facade reliefs has already been mentioned in chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis and is investigated further on in this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> The mosaic illustrating the Resurrection was originally located on the highest central gable of the façade. It was last mosaic to be completed on the façade programme and is attributed by Fumi to Francesco di Rinaldo siciliano, present in Orvieto from 1506 to 1622. See: Chapter 2, pp. 38-40, n.9-10 of this thesis. Documents regarding the Chapel of the Holy Corporal survive from 1357 to 1364. Construction began in 1350 and the ceiling vaults were added between 1355 and 1357. The first reference to Ugolino di Prete Ilario painting the chapel dates to 8 July 1357 and it appears to have been finished by December 1359. C. Harding, 'Economic Dimensions in Art: Mosaic versus Wall Painting in Trecento Orvieto' in *Florence and Italy. Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, ed. P. Denley and C. Elam (London 1988), p. 504. The Reliquary of the Holy Corporal is signed and dated «†HIOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DOMINUS FRATER TRAMUS EPISCOPUS URBEVETANUS ET DOM. ANGELUS ARCHIPRESBITER ET DOM. LIGUS CAPELLANUS DOMINI PAPE ET NICHOLAUS DE ALATRO ET COM. FREDUS ET DOM. MINUS ET DOM. LEONARDUS CANONICI URBEVETANI † PER MAGISTRUM UGOLINUM ET SOTIOS AURIFICES DE SENIS FACTUM FUIT SUB ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXVIII TEMPORE DOMINI BENEDICTI PAPE XII».

<sup>6</sup> Andrea di Cione (known as Orcagna) probably began working on the mosaic of the Baptism of Christ soon after he became *capomaestro* at the cathedral on 14 June 1348. Harding (London 1988), p. 504.

Christ's resurrection which unlocked the gates of Paradise for the Old Testament figures and the Baptist himself.

Further inside the church, behind the baptismal font, the aisle leads to the north transept Chapel of the Corporal.<sup>7</sup> The precious relics of Bolsena were probably housed in the cathedral sacristy until c. 1356, when the Chapel built for them near the north crossing of the cathedral was finished.<sup>8</sup> Besides containing the Reliquary of the Corporal housed inside Orcagna's tabernacle, the chapel holds one of the earliest and most extensive iconographic programmes portraying Eucharistic miracles (Fig. 129).<sup>9</sup> The chapel which houses the miraculous host, and therefore proof of the transubstantiation of the body of Christ, is placed appropriately behind the northern face of the façade, the Baptist mosaic and the baptismal font. By the end of the twelfth century the moment during the mass when physical matter (bread or wafer) was actually transformed into God (the body of Christ) had been pinpointed to the first consecration, which was marked by the elevation of the host. A gesture which is repeated visually in the frescoes decorating the chapel walls (Fig. 145).<sup>10</sup> Through transubstantiation the body of Christ became present, bleeding there at the altar in the minds of the medieval public, and the consummation of his flesh vividly reminded them of his sacrifice on the hill at Calvary in the name of their salvation.<sup>11</sup> The Chapel of the Corporal then, housed proof of transubstantiation, a concept inextricably linked to Christian perception of the Eucharist, which in its turn offered the promise of salvation as did the baptismal rite.

<sup>7</sup> This chapel was originally known as the 'Cappella del Corpo di Cristo' and was built between 1350 and 1356. Only later did it become known as the chapel 'del Corporale'. F.T. Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio, 'La «storia del miracolo di Bolsena» e le sue vicende', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 29 (1973), p.6.

<sup>8</sup> The sacristy was demolished in 1408 to make way for the Chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio. It is unclear whether this sacristy was originally part of the original Cathedral of Santa Maria in Prisca or if it was part of the new cathedral. The history of the Miracle of Bolsena, written before 1563 states that the relics were once held in *sacratio*. Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio (1973), pp. 5-6, 33-34. Catherine Harding states that the relics were housed in an oratory. C.D. Harding, *Guide to the Cappella del Corporale of Orvieto Cathedral* (Perugia 2004), p. 51. Recent structural changes and the dramatic restoration programme which took place from 1855-1860 provoked Cox to comment that any study of Ugolino di Prete Ilario's painting had to be based on the frescoes in the apse due to the heavy handed repainting and reorganisation of space within the chapel. Cox Zimeri (1976), p. 5. Bonelli claims that the Chapel of the Corporal was built between c. 1350 and 1356. R. Bonelli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e l'architettura italiana del Duecento Trecento* (Perugia 2003), p. 219. S. Nair James dates the Chapel of the Corporal to 1328-1364 but gives no specific reference. S. Nair James, 'Penance and Redemption: the Role of the Roman Liturgy in Luca Signorelli's Frescoes at Orvieto', *Artibus et Historiae*, 22, No. 44 (2001), p. 125.

<sup>9</sup> Preparatory drawings for the tabernacle were commissioned of Nicola da Siena on 12 May 1358 and was executed under the direction of Andrea di Cione (Orcagna), who as capomaestro dell'Opera was charged with «far murare e di far imagini, dipingere di pinello, mectare de mosaico, fare lustrare figure facte de marmo o che si facesero poi, come e quanto e in quallo mo' che per gli operai presenti e futuri fu dato ordine». L. Fumi, *Gli Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S. Maria di Orvieto. Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Roma 1891), Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria. Fonti per la Storia dell'Umbria, 28, with introduction and edited by L. Riccetti (Perugia 2002), p. 311; Harding (2004), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Harding (2004), pp. 16, 18.

<sup>11</sup> E. Duffy, *The stripping of the altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Avon 2005), p. 91.

At the south end of the façade, the relief cycles on the pilasters represent stories from the New Testament and the Last Judgement (Fig. 44). Behind these New Testament reliefs, inside the cathedral work began on constructing the south transept chapel dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin in 1408 (Fig. 146).<sup>12</sup> The decorative program was begun in 1447 when Fra Angelico painted the two triangular vault compartments of the first bay in the chapel.<sup>13</sup> Although the Florentine Dominican abandoned the project not long after beginning it and no reference to intended subject matter is given in the remaining documents, the figure of Christ painted by Angelico in the vault above the altar is represented with his right arm raised in the unmistakable gesture of damnation typical of Last Judgement iconography, giving clear indication that the original iconographic cycle intended for the whitewashed walls of the chapel was indeed that of the Last Judgement.<sup>14</sup>

In 1489 the Opera del Duomo entered into negotiations with an unnamed Florentine master painter who examined the frescoes left by Fra Angelico in July. In December of that same year Perugino was commissioned to complete the painting of the vault with «istoriis» and «figuris» in accordance with stipulations from the chamberlain of the Opera del Duomo.<sup>15</sup> These frescoes were never painted and the Opera was forced to seek another painter to finish Fra Angelico's Last Judgement. In April 1499 Luca Signorelli was contracted by the Opera to depict «figuris» and «hystoriis» in the chapel vaults conforming to the style - and presumably iconography - of Fra Angelico's 'disegni' and instructions from the chamberlain of the Opera.<sup>16</sup> Nair James makes an important observation regarding the terms of this contract, stating that they compel the artist to "synchronise the iconography in the chapel with Orvietan history and the

<sup>12</sup> According to Fumi Tommaso di Micheluccio left money in his will for a Chapel dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin and the Opera agreed to build it in 1397. Building materials were acquired for the chapel in 1406, however the sacristy was not demolished to make way for the new construction until the end of 1408. Plans for the roof were deliberated in 1452 and the work was executed, together with the roofs of the Chapel of the Corporal and the Tribune in 1455. Fumi bases his date for the roofing on a document in the archives generically dated 1448-1457 and as Fra Angelico's fresco cycle was begun in 1447 it seems likely that the roof for the Cappella Nuova was begun before the Dominican artist was commissioned to paint its vaults. Fumi (2002), p.171. S. Nair James states in her article that the chapel was built between 1408 and 1444. Nair James (2001), p.125.

<sup>13</sup> Nair James (2001), 123; E. Hall, H. Uhr, 'Patrons and Painter in Quest of an Iconographic Program: The Case of the Signorelli Frescoes in Orvieto' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 55 (1992), 37.

<sup>14</sup> Christ's gesture is repeated by Michelangelo in his frescoes depicting the Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel which is also dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin. Hall, Uhr (1992), p.38.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, Uhr (1992), p.39.

<sup>16</sup> An extract from the contract stipulated by the Opera del Duomo for Luca Signorelli on 5 April 1499 illustrates these stipulations. The entire contract is published by Fumi. «Item quod dictus magister Lucas teneatur et sic promisit facere omnes figuras bonas pulcras et ad perfectionem et meliores vel saltem pares, conformes et similes aliis figureis, que sunt ibi in dicta cappella nova, ...». Fumi (2002), pp.406-407, Nair James (2001), p.123; Hall, Uhr (1992), p.39.

existing iconographic programs in the cathedral”.<sup>17</sup> By “Orvietan history” the scholar is in part referring to the miraculous events of the Holy Corporal which provoked the reoccurring iconography - particularly blatant in the Chapel of the Corporal - asserting the reality of transubstantiation during the liturgy of the Eucharist and on a more general level, hints at the promise of salvation.<sup>18</sup>

In the vault of the Prophets painted by Fra Angelico, John the Baptist occupies the position closest to Christ and is counterbalanced by the Virgin amongst the Apostles painted by Signorelli according to Angelico’s “disegni” on the opposite vault. The Deesis formed by the three figures was an unusual iconographic choice for the late fifteenth century, reminiscent of early medieval Byzantine iconography.<sup>19</sup> It was probably suggested by the iconographic programme already in existence at the cathedral. The cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin, her bronze and marble sculpture occupies the primary position above the central portal of its western façade and her role as principal intercessor in the city of Orvieto is further demonstrated by the extensive wall paintings illustrating stories from the Life of the Virgin in the tribune behind the high altar (Figs. 56, 140, 141, 142, 143).<sup>20</sup> John the Baptist also appears prominently in the decorative programme of the façade (Fig. 144). Baptism is essential for the eventual salvation of the Christian soul and the Baptist’s intercessory role is stressed by his reappearance at Christ’s side in the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin.<sup>21</sup> Angelico and Signorelli’s scenes of the Last Judgement in the south bay and on the vaults of the chapel are accompanied by musical texts used during the liturgy on All Saints Day. The hymns *Jesu salvator saeculi* and *Christe Redemptor omnium*, invoking intercession of the Baptist and the Virgin respectively, were sung in occasion of this

<sup>17</sup> Nair James (2001), pp. 123-124.

<sup>18</sup> Riess observes that the iconographic programme in the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin (or Cappella Nova) is an amplification of the general decorative programme full of Eucharistic references at the cathedral of Orvieto. J.B. Riess, ‘La genesi degli affreschi del Signorelli per la Cappella Nova’, in *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. L. Riccetti (Bari 1998), p. 247.

<sup>19</sup> L.B. Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton 1971), pp. 61, 78.

<sup>20</sup> The cathedral’s original plan included an elegant rounded apse, which was destroyed in 1335 and replaced by the tribune built between 1328 and 1334. Bonelli (2003), pp. 219, 228. Ugolino di Prete Ilario Orvietano painted the tribune with frescoes illustrating the Life of the Virgin from 1370 to 1383, leaving the cycle unfinished on the lower portion of the east wall and the entire south wall. The fresco cycle was completed by Giacomo di Bologna in 1491, followed by Pinturicchio in 1492, and finally Antonio da Viterbo (il Pastura) from 1497-1499. Cox Zimeri (1976), pp. 13, 23; Fumi (2002), pp. 305-367.

<sup>21</sup> Nair James (2001), p.125.

feast in Orvieto.<sup>22</sup> In addition, both the Virgin and John the Baptist played intercessory roles in a liturgical drama acted on the Feast of All Saints in Orvieto.<sup>23</sup>

Signorelli had already finished painting the 'disegni' by Fra Angelico on the first half of the vaults by November 1499. The artist's request for an iconographic programme in order to complete the decoration of the vaults was discussed in a meeting of the Opera on 25 November 1499, where it was decided that the chapel be painted according to oral consultations with a group of local theologians *«et quod fiat et pingatur in dicta cappella, prout alias oretenus per venerabiles magistros sacre pagine huius Civitatis consultum est, et ita exequatur, dummodo non excedat materiam Iudicii»*.<sup>24</sup>

A correspondence occurs in the iconography of the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin and the Apse frescoes (Figs. 143, 146). In both cycles Saint Paul appears amongst the apostles.<sup>25</sup> He appears, in the Assumption of the Virgin above the stained glass windows on the east wall behind the high altar, as one of a group of seven apostles which counterbalances the group of six apostles on the left hand side of the Virgin (Fig. 143).<sup>26</sup> In the chapel, in accordance with Fra Angelico's 'disegno', Signorelli seats Saint Paul holding his sword alongside Saint Peter with the keys (Fig. 146). The two

<sup>22</sup> Nair James (2001), p.125, n.27. The hymns are in choir books held in the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo in Orvieto and both predate the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin. *Jesu salvator saeculi*, in *Codice corale di Antonio Albéri*, written by Fra Valentino d'Ungheria, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo in Orvieto (MS C1, 1499), 306v-307v; *Christe Redemptor omnium*, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto, 14th century (MS unnum. Cod. corale), 273r.

<sup>23</sup> Orvieto was a city where religious drama was being performed as early as the fourteenth century, where it developed to such a point that in 1421 it was prohibited to stage the plays inside churches. The religious play of "Ognisanti" used on All Saint's Day was performed in Orvieto on 1 November and is recorded as n. XXVII in Beltramo di Leonardo's collection of lauds and plays copied in April 1405 (Scentoni records it as no. XXVIII in the Codice Vittorio Emanuele). *Le sacre rappresentazioni italiane. Raccolta di testi dal secolo XIII al secolo XVI*, ed. by M. Bonfantini (Milan 1942), pp. 20, 24; Nair James (2001), p.125; G. Scentoni ed. *Laudario Orvietano*, Quaderni del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Umbria», ed. C. Leonardi and E. Menestò, 33 (Spoleto 1994), pp. 37, 45, 409-423; 'Sacre Rappresentazioni per le fraternite d'Orvieto nel Codice Vittorio Emanuele 528', *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, Appendix 5 (1916), no. XXVII, pp. 97-102.

<sup>24</sup> The "Masters of the Sacred Page" named by the Opera as consultants for Signorelli's iconographic programme were scholars specialised in matters of doctrine. Nair James (2001), p.127. At Signorelli's request for iconographic instructions, Gian Ludovico Benincasa advised the Opera «let it be made and painted in the said chapel as it is advised orally by the venerable masters in theology of this city at some other time, and so should it be carried out, provided that it may not depart from the theme of the Last Judgement». The translation of the above latin text comes from Hall, Uhr (1992), p.40-41. Hall and Uhr stipulate that the theological consultation for the decorative program could not have taken place at a prior date, as it would not then be logical to then limit the programme to the Last Judgement. This may well be the case, as it is stipulated that the "Masters of the Sacred Page" communicate the iconographic programme to Signorelli orally, and therefore it seems unlikely that too much time had passed between the moment of arriving at an iconographic programme and the moment of communicating it to Signorelli.

<sup>25</sup> Nair James (2001), p. 126; Cox Zimeri (1976), p. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Cox Zimeri (1976), pp. 45-46.



saints and the Virgin occupy the front row of the group of Apostles.<sup>27</sup> Paravicini Bagliani analyses the appearance of these two saints at the side of Christ in the restoration of the apse mosaics of San Pietro by Pope Innocent III, followed by Pope Gregory IX's renewal of the façade mosaics above the narthex of the same basilica.<sup>28</sup> According to the scholar their inclusion in the iconographic programme of the mosaics at San Pietro stressed that the vocation of the Roman Catholic Church was to guide humanity towards the second coming of Christ.<sup>29</sup>

This papal pairing of the two saints seems to have been especially appreciated by Pope Boniface VIII who, at the expense of the Lateran basilica, issued a bull which stipulated that in order to achieve the Jubilee indulgence, pilgrims were obliged to visit the tombs of Peter and Paul at the Roman basilicas of San Pietro and San Paolo fuori le mura.<sup>30</sup> As early as 1296 Boniface VIII demonstrated his favour of these particular saints by including them at the sides of the Virgin and child on his funerary chapel situated against the interior façade wall in the central nave of the Basilica of San Pietro in Rome.<sup>31</sup> In Jacopo Torriti's mosaic above the sepulchre, Boniface VIII is represented in papal garb kneeling before the Virgin and child and holding the symbolic keys of Saint Peter. He is presented by Saint Peter who stands at his shoulders and on the other side of the Virgin stands Saint Paul. The composition may well have been inspired by the earlier apse decoration commissioned by Innocent III. Just as Innocent III represented himself in the apse mosaics, standing beside the mystic throne of the Apocalypse, so does Boniface VIII kneel before the same throne. He too is identified by his name written in the same position as that of Innocent III.<sup>32</sup>

Is it possible that the two saints were included at the side of the Virgin in both the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin and in Ugolino di Prete Ilario's frescoes behind the high altar in their roles as guides for humanity towards Christ's second coming? This interpretation would not be untoward given the Apocalyptic warnings

<sup>27</sup> The inclusion of Saint Paul amongst the apostles was of liturgical inspiration according to Nair James. Nair James (2001), pp. 125-126.

<sup>28</sup> The mosaic in the apse of San Pietro was restored by Pope Innocent III in 1198-1216 and contained an inscription identifying the figure of its donor. Pope Gregory IX reconstructed the upper part of the façade of San Pietro (1227-1241) and there was an inscription nominating him as the patron. *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, ed. R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, A.K. Frazer, 5 vols. (Città del Vaticano 1980), V, p. 182.

<sup>29</sup> A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La Chiave e la Tiara. Immagini e simboli del papato medievale* (Rome 1998), p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1998), pp. 33-34.

<sup>31</sup> The mausoleum of Boniface VIII was built between 24 January 1295 and 6 May 1296, possibly extending to December 1296. Paravicini Bagliani (1998), pp. 33-34.

<sup>32</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1998), p. 34.

offered in Signorelli's frescoes and considering the role of the Virgin in Christ's first earthly appearance regarding the apse frescoes. Any clear reference to saints Peter and Paul in the façade iconography has long been lost, but given the reoccurrence of façade motifs in the interior decorative programme of the cathedral, this does not rule out the possibility that it once existed.

On the socle of the walls of the chapel below the Blessed and Heaven, Signorelli illustrated the first eleven Canti of *Purgatorio* in *The Divine Comedy* by Dante. Eighteen stories from the moralised gloss of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid are represented in the socle under the paintings of the Hell and the Damned.<sup>33</sup> Both authors explore the theme of spiritual rebirth which was appropriate for the chapel decoration dedicated to the Last Judgement.<sup>34</sup> These scenes drawn from secular literature serve as supporting glosses for the Christian representations taking place on the upper walls and vaults.<sup>35</sup> Signorelli did not complete this fresco cycle until the beginning of the sixteenth century and it is fitting that as an artist of the High Renaissance, the roots of his glosses lay in classical sources. I would like to suggest that this same idea of presenting the primary message and accompanying it by more accessible narrative glosses had already been used on the façade of the Orvieto cathedral, a good two hundred years earlier. The medieval façade composition is not as clearly organised as that in the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin. The narrative gloss given in the series of façade reliefs is also located on its lower echelons and occupies a similar accessible position to the smaller classical parables in the renaissance chapel. The arched chapel walls and vaults provided Signorelli with a cohesive series of spaces for the principal representations of the Last Judgement and events from the Apocalypse, whereas the large gable surface areas in which the façade mosaics expressed theological statements in clear memorable language were situated more intermittently. This parallel use of orthodox statements accompanied by detailed narrative glosses is yet another example demonstrating the constant dialogue between the cathedral façade and its interior at Orvieto.

### Didactic Repetition of Images

Repetition and memory provide the keys which lead to a dynamic interrelating both the separate parts within the building, and its interior to its exterior. This internal-external

<sup>33</sup> The moralized gloss of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is the *Ovide moralise*. Nair James (2001), pp. 139-140.

<sup>34</sup> Nair James (2001), pp. 139-140.

<sup>35</sup> Nair James (2001), p. 142.

dynamic can also be extended to the space in front of the cathedral used for Christian theatrical representations, such as the Antichrist drama which re-presented the subject of the frescoes in the chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin in a different artistic medium, in front of the cathedral on Sunday 20 August, 1508.<sup>36</sup> Excommunication ceremonies are recorded as being performed at the cathedral by the papacy while in residence in Orvieto. These rites took place in front of public gatherings both inside the cathedral and outside in its piazza.<sup>37</sup> The dynamic between the cathedral's exterior and interior spaces is also reflected in the movement of the cathedral's primary relic of the Holy Corporal, which although normally housed within the Episcopal seat in the Chapel of the Corporal, was carried in procession through the city streets to the church of S. Andrea at the heart of Orvieto's civic centre during the feast of the Corporal.<sup>38</sup> On a grander plane, the reliquary's movement provided a physical point of reference between the city's religious centre and its civic centre, the intrinsic link between Orvieto's civic body and the Church.<sup>39</sup>

In chapter two of this thesis I discussed the episodes accentuating teaching and learning shown in the façade reliefs on the pilasters of the Genesis and the Tree of Jesse.<sup>40</sup> The mnemonic role of iconographic and iconological repetition discussed

<sup>36</sup> Nair James (2001), p. 136.

<sup>37</sup> In Orvieto two bulls issued by Gregory X on 6 April 1272 and 18 May 1273 record such ceremonies taking place in the Cathedral of Orvieto. Bulls dating to 26 March 1282, 7 May 1282, 21 March 1283, 13 April 1283, 27 May 1283, 18 November 1283 and 18 May 1284 all show that Martin IV preferred to perform these ceremonies in the public piazza of the cathedral. Only one bull dated 6 April 1284 records Martin IV as having performed the ceremony in the actual cathedral. A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'Bonifacio VIII, la Loggia di Giustizia al Laterano e i processi generali di scomunica', *Rivista di Storia della chiesa in Italia*, LIX, 2 (2005), pp. 395, 416-417.

<sup>38</sup> In the fifteenth century Luca di Domenico Manente records an early Orvietan celebration of the Corpus Domini in 1290. Muratori, RISS, 1, p. 322. The account is dismissed by most scholars as a late fourteenth, early fifteenth century civic legend. Riccetti (1990-1992), pp. 169-180. However, it is interesting to note that the piazza in front of the new cathedral is already nominated in the acts regarding the cathedral plans dated 3 March 1285 and cited in the document of 6 September 1290 signed by Nicholas IV's chamberlain Nicola di Trevi. These acts specified that the area should remain empty of all unnecessary construction and that any of its subsequent revenues were to be divided into three parts; of which two belonged to the chapter and one part to the bishop. It is clear therefore that as early as 1285, the outdoor space for public religious functions was already being carefully defined. V. Natalini, 'Il capitolo del Duomo di Orvieto', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 9 (1955), pp. 196-197; Orvieto; Fumi (2002), pp. 248-251. It is likely that the feast was celebrated in Orvieto after the papal letter *Si dominum* was published in the *Clementines* in October 1317. The first document mentioning the celebration of the feast in Orvieto dates to 1337. Freni (2000), p. 137, n.49; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge 1991), pp. 181-185; Riccetti (1990-1992), pp. 169-180.

<sup>39</sup> This connection between the papacy and Orvieto's civic centre can also be extended to politics. Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII were all elected to key secular positions within Orvietan government while they were on the papal throne. Martin IV was named Podestà of Orvieto in 1284, but appears to have refused the post. Nicholas IV accepted the nomination as Podestà but governed through a vicario. Boniface VIII was elected Capitano del Popolo in 1295 and again in 1297. In 1298 he was both Capitano del Popolo and Podestà. D. Waley, *Orvieto Medievale* (Rome 1985), pp. 96, 97, 109.

<sup>40</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 49-50 of this thesis.

above can also be considered in relation to this didactic theme. The participation of the papacy was intrinsic to the construction of the cathedral at Orvieto. High ranking members of the clergy, probably belonging to the papal retinue were highly likely to have been involved. In the Chapel of the Corporal Thomas Aquinas, one of the Dominican order's most respected saintly scholars, is attributed with having officially recorded the events of the Miracle of Bolsena which furnished the cathedral with its most important relic.<sup>41</sup> The appearance of both Saint Dominic and Saint Francis amongst the Elect on the Last Judgement pilaster on the façade may well be an indication of the mendicant orders' involvement in the cathedral's decorative programme (Fig.126).

The series of examples of Eucharistic miracles in the Chapel of the Corporal's ambitious decorative programme could be seen as a visual interpretation of the Aristotelian method of posing a question, in this case the reality of transubstantiation, and offering a series of arguments which effectively resolve the initial doubt.<sup>42</sup> The Eucharistic miracles illustrate doubt confounded (Figs. 145, 147).<sup>43</sup> The Roman Corpus Christi liturgy, attributed to the Dominican friar Thomas Aquinas, is noted for the Aristotelian logic and terminology it uses to establish the reality of the True Presence in the host.<sup>44</sup> The inclusion of inscriptions in every scene throughout the Chapel's decorative programme further elaborate the visual message being conveyed.<sup>45</sup> They may also have been useful for viewers capable of reading Latin, as many of the stories being illustrated were obscure and infrequent in church decoration.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to remember that not all of the medieval public read Latin, and without an intermediary, such as a learned commentator or perhaps live interpretations

<sup>41</sup> Rubin (1991), p.187-191; N. Orme, 'Book Review of *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* by M. Rubin', *The English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), pp. 386-388.

<sup>42</sup> The *libri naturales* by Aristotle were recovered and translated from both Greek and Arabic from circa 1120 to the 1260s. By the 1250s it was a key part of any university curriculum. Aristotle's Natural Philosophy was used to explore a range of questions from those regarding the physical world to questions on the Eucharist. Murdoch refers to notions of *evidentia* in relationship to the nature of *scientia* in material of the Aristotelian tradition. R.C. Dales, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World* (Leiden 1990), p. 39; E. Grant, 'What was Natural Philosophy in the Late Middle Ages?', *History of Universities*, XX, 2 (2005), p. 21.

<sup>43</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 165. Master Anselm of Laon had already raised questions regarding the Eucharist in his lessons of theology at the schools of Laon in the beginning of the twelfth century. The questions he formulated were: "On the Eucharist: In what sense can the Body of Christ be 'received' by the communicant? and Is the Sacrament effective if vomited?" Southern (2001), p. 41.

<sup>44</sup> Lansing (1998), p. 165.

<sup>45</sup> The Dominicans were sensitive to their image as an erudite order, and chose ambitious texts to be reproduced in the art they commissioned. One has only to think of the Crucifix Giotto painted for them at S. Maria Novella in Florence which accurately reproduces the scriptures in Hebrew, Greek and Latin above Christ's head. J. Gardner, 'Context and Status: The Placement of Inscriptions on Painting and Sculpture in Italy c.1250-c.1350', in press.

<sup>46</sup> Harding (2004), p. 75.

of the episodes in *sacre rappresentazioni*, the meaning of many of the frescoes would have remained obscure. The exact purpose of these written inscriptions continues to remain elusive. Besides being written in Latin, many of the texts are located high up in the dimly lit vaults of the chapel, which makes reading them an almost impossible task for even the most acute eyes. The same obscure choice of location applies to the inscription found carved around the cornice of one of the northern nave capitals. The text «*AVE MARIA GRATIA PRENA DOMINUS TE CHU BENEDITA TUI MULIERIBUS E BENEDITO S FRUTU NATU I S TUO A(me)N*», written in uncertain Latin and interspersed with sculpted heads of animals and humans, initiates the Ave Maria prayer drawn from Gabriel's greeting to the Virgin at the Annunciation described in Luke 1.28.<sup>47</sup> The incorrect nature of the Latin used to narrate the prayer reflects its uncultured origins. It was probably drawn from oral repetition of a laud, the poetic form of prayers popular in Central Italy at the time.<sup>48</sup> However, its location at the top of the capital crowning the second column from the entrance on the northern side of the nave, makes it almost impossible to read. In addition both the capital and the Corporal Chapel texts require the reader to circulate and move through the space of the church in a manner which – at least during the liturgy – was unlikely to have been permitted. This analysis of the texts from a practical point of view seems to imply that the writing held an intrinsic meaning as a graphic motif and this significance was as important as the message it conveyed.

The local Orvietan populace was likely to have quickly become familiar with the innovative iconography and meaning of the paintings in the chapel of the Corporal. The miracle of Bolsena was already being re-enacted by members of the confraternity of the Disciplinati of San Martino in occasion of the Feast of the Corpus Domini in Orvieto well before 1357, when Ugolino di Prete Ilario began decorating the walls of the Chapel of the Corporal.<sup>49</sup> Miri Rubin writes that by the second quarter of the fourteenth

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<sup>47</sup> The words «*beneditos fructus natu is tuo*» on the capital differ from the Biblical citation «*benedictus fructus ventris tuo*». A. Franci, 'Guido Farnese, Ramo di Paganello e il capitello dell'Ave Maria nel Duomo di Orvieto', *Arte Cristiana*, 89 (2001), p.5.

<sup>48</sup> Gillerman and Franci date this capital to the third constructive phase of the cathedral at Orvieto, which according to Franci coincides with the direction of the works under the figure of Ramo di Paganello; 29 December 1301 to 1310 when Lorenzo Maitani became *Caput Magister* of the Opera. Franci highlights that the inscription from the Ave Maria Laud on the cathedral capital coincides neatly with the bishopric of Guido Farnese (31 January 1302 – 1328), Orvieto's first Franciscan bishop and a possible confraternity member. The laud was a typical method of expression of confraternities and a Marian confraternity reunited regularly in the Franciscan church at Orvieto as early as 1261. Franci (2001), pp.10-11; D. Gillerman, 'The Evolution of the Design of Orvieto Cathedral ca. 1290-1310', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 3 (1994), pp. 300-321.

<sup>49</sup> The play of the Miracle of Bolsena was probably formulated in 1325-1330. Lansing (1998), pp. 165-166; A. Lazzarini, 'La data originaria della sacra rappresentazione del miracolo di Bolsena', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 6

century, in both England and Western Europe, the Corpus Christi procession often included *tableaux vivants* along its route.<sup>50</sup> These were scenes, which could include actors reciting some spoken lines or music accompaniment, appearing in the piazza or at street corners along the chosen route. The Corpus Christi feast at Orvieto, which fell on 19 June 1337 is well documented in the *riformanza* of the commune.<sup>51</sup> The minutes of the council meeting record that on the feast day the Body of Christ and the Holy Corporal were to be carried in procession through the streets of Orvieto. No one was permitted to work on the eve or the day of the feast, which was preceded and followed by two days of *ferie*. Court proceedings were also suspended for a total of five days.<sup>52</sup> Although the council minutes make no specific mention of *tableaux vivants* along the procession route, neither do they refer to the Corpus Christi play, which by 1337 had had at least 10 years to become a well-established tradition. One wonders what preparations necessitated a two-day holiday for the entire city before and after the feast? The play involved the members of the confraternity of the Disciplinati of S. Martino, but what occupied the rest of the town?

The minutes of the *riformanza* dating to 24 May 1337 state that the procession had to pass all the major churches of Orvieto.<sup>53</sup> Churches were often complemented by external areas for public gatherings in front, ideal for the production of Eucharistic *exempla* such as those illustrated on the walls of the chapel of the Corporal. The idea that Ugolino di Prete Ilario's narration of Miracles of the Eucharist, alongside his scenes representing the Miracle of Bolsena, furnished material for the feast day's dramatic

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(1950), p.1; A. Giannotti, 'Forme drammatiche nell'Orvieto medievale' (Degree dissertation, Università di Roma, 1983-1984).

<sup>50</sup> Rubin (1991), p. 272.

<sup>51</sup> Freni transcribes the arrangements made by the Orvietan authorities for the Feast of the Corpus Domini. ASO Riformagioni, 112, c. 47v – 48r, 24 May 1337. Freni (2000), pp. 124, n.53, 152-153.

<sup>52</sup> «Item quod duobus diebus ante dictum festum et die dicti festi et duobus diebus post ipsum festum sint imperpetuum et esse debeant ferie et tempus feriarum in civitate predicta in omnibus curiis dicte civitatis et in omnibus causis civilibus et causis appellationis ita quod dicti quinque dis non computentur in aliquo termine dato vel dando in aliqua civili causa principali vel appellationis et sint et esse debeant dicte ferie per illum modum prout sunt indite in illa civitate tempore extatis et vendemie et si quod fieri in dictis causis vel altera ipsorum dictis quinque diebus sit nullum». Freni (2000), pp. 124, 153.

<sup>53</sup> The procession began at the Cathedral of Santa Maria and proceeded to San Francesco, then San Lorenzo, past the house of Ermanno Monaldeschi, on to Santa Maria del Carmelo, past Sant'Andrea, past San Domenico, to Santo Stefano, onto San Leonardo, to San Salvatore and finally back to the cathedral. «Item quod tota civitas mundetur et precipue strate per quas transibit processio et quilibet coperiat in domum suam melioribus pannis qui haberi poterunt sint dicte strate erbis et juncis strate per quas transibit processio sint iste de ecclesie beate Marie ad sanctum Franciscum de inde ad sanctum Laurentium de inde ad domum Manni domini Corradi de inde ritta linea ecclesia Carmelitarum ad platiam arbe de inde per Camollia ad sanctum Andream de inde ad sanctum Dominicum de inde ad sanctum Stefanum de inde ad sanctum Leonardum de inde ad sanctum Salvatorem de inde ad ecclesiam beate Virginis». Freni (2000), pp. 131, 153.

representations unfortunately for now remains undocumented. However, circumstances and timing, make the proposition entirely plausible.

Church drama was of course didactic and its link to the strong didactic orientation of the decorative programme at Orvieto cathedral has been discussed and established.<sup>54</sup> Reference is made above to the Aristotelian method of reasoning which pervades the Corpus Christi liturgy written by Thomas Aquinas and the iconology of Ugolino di Prete Ilario's fresco cycle illustrating Eucharistic legend. Can these arguments be associated with the earlier façade decoration of the cathedral?

Extended periods of papal occupancy were frequent in Orvieto during the second half of the thirteenth century and the papal court was accompanied by the *Studium Curiae*.<sup>55</sup> The *Studium Curiae* functioned as a "high level academy" and some of the greatest theologians and experts in canon and civil law of the Middle Ages were to teach there.<sup>56</sup> A letter from Pope Nicholas IV at the papal court in Orvieto to an Orvietan Professor of Civil Law, Conte d'Orvieto, informs the scholar that the bishops, abbots and other members of the clergy who followed his lessons had papal dispensation to do so.<sup>57</sup>

*«Comiti de Urbevetere, iuris civilis professori. Merito tue probitatis... Ut quandiu apud Sedem Apostolicam in iure docueris liceat personis illis que per constitutionem felicis recordationis Honorii pape III, predecessoris nostri, leges prohibentur audire, episcopis, abatibus et religiosis quibuslibet prorsus exceptis, apud Sedem eandem tantum, in predicto iure studere, te dumtaxat vel alium quem aliquando loco tui ad legendum in scolis tuis aliquam lectionem, necessitatis causa honoris, gratia, forsan*

<sup>54</sup> Rubin (1991), p. 274.

<sup>55</sup> For the presence of the *Studium curiae* in Orvieto see: L. Riccetti, 'La cultura artistica in Orvieto all'epoca dei papi (1260-1310)', *Arnolfo di Cambio una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, Perugia Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Orvieto chiesa di Sant'Agostino, 7 July 2005 – 8 January 2006 (Milano 2005), pp. 165-167.

<sup>56</sup> Paravicini Bagliani specifies that the *Studium Curiae* should not be thought of as an actual university, as its primary role was not to confer academic degrees, but rather it functioned as a sort of high level academy for members of the papal and cardinals' *familiae* and the functionaries working at the papal court. A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'La fondazione dello «Studium Curiae», in *Il pragmatismo degli intellettuali. Origini e primi sviluppi dell'istituzione universitaria*, ed. by R. Greci (Torino 1996), pp. 140, 143-144; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La Vita Quotidiana alla Corte dei Papi nel Duecento* (Roma 1996), p. 183.

<sup>57</sup> Pope Honorius III had forbade all ecclesiastics from studying civil law. Prior to Nicholas IV's dispensation to Conte da Orvieto, Pope Honorius IV had also issued a dispensation to the Professor of Civil Law at Siena, Bindo da Siena, which permitted bishops, abbots and other members of the ecclesiastic hierarchy to attend his lessons. Paravicini Bagliani (Torino 1996), pp. 135-136; *Reg. Hon. IV*, 168 (18 October 1285); S. Kuttner, 'Papst Honorius III. und das Studium des Zivilrechts', *Festschrift für Martin Wolff. Beiträge zum Zivilrecht und internationalen Privatrecht*, ed. E. von Caemmerer, W. Hallstein, F.A. Mann and L. Raiser (Tübingen 1952), pp. 79-101.

*admiseris audiendo... Dat. Apud Urbemveterem, VIII kalendas novembris, anno tertio*». <sup>58</sup>

Orvieto's reputation as a centre of learning was formally recognised by the papacy on 7 October 1377, when Pope Gregory XI issued a bull granting Orvieto its *Studium Generale*. <sup>59</sup>

### A City of Scholars

The *Studium Curiae* and the *Studium Generale* were by no means the first institutions of higher learning to appear in Orvieto. In a letter of 1149 from bishop Aldobrandino of Orvieto to the abbot of the monastery of San Sepolcro, one of the signatories appears as «*Iohanne licet indignus primicerius*». <sup>60</sup> A *primiceriato* was responsible for the subdeacons and minor clerics who were being educated within the cathedral chapter, and John's signature on the letter demonstrates the existence of such a school in Orvieto by 1149. <sup>61</sup> A *magister* is not nominated in the documents regarding the cathedral chapter until 18 December 1181, after which the title appears with frequency. <sup>62</sup> The role of a *magister* was that of a teacher of scientific and doctrinal material. <sup>63</sup> The documents from Orvieto often testify to the presence of more than one *magister* residing at the

<sup>58</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (Torino 1996), pp. 135-136; *Reg. Nic. IV*, 3504 (25 October 1290).

<sup>59</sup> L. Fumi, *Codice Diplomatico della città d'Orvieto. Documenti e Registi dal secolo XI al XV* (Firenze 1884), pp. 567-568. The highly questionable historian Cipriano Manente states that Orvieto was granted the privilege to teach all faculties as early as 1013 by pope Benedict VIII and the emperor Henry II. This right was confirmed by emperor Henry III in 1043. Manente also claims that the University in Orvieto was begun in 1193 by pope Celestine II and was reconfirmed by pope Gregory IX in 1227. Unfortunately no documentary evidence remains as proof of these assertions and the historian has a reputation as being unreliable. C. Manente, *Historie*, 2 vols. (Venice 1561). p.131 ; M. Rossi Caponeri, 'Dal documento al libro. Percorsi d'archivio', in *La civiltà del libro in Orvieto. Materiali per lo studio della decorazione dei codici nei secoli XI-XV, Catalogo della mostra, Orvieto, Chiostro di S. Giovanni, 27 marzo-30 aprile 1991* (Perugia 1991), p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> Fumi (1884), pp. 19-20, doc.XXXI; V. Natalini, 'Il capitolo del Duomo di Orvieto', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 9 (1955), pp. 204-205; G. Leoni, 'Il capitolo cattedrale del Duomo di Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 50/57 (1994-2001), p.177.

<sup>61</sup> A *primicerius* could be the leader or director of the cathedral choir, he may have sung in the choir and in some medieval cathedral chapters is known to have taught. Documents referring to the cathedral of Siena refer to a *primicerius* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the Sienese canon Oderigo mentions the «*schola*» of the cathedral chapter in his text *Ordo Officiorum* of 1215. F.A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse. Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago 1997), pp.15, 29-30; G. C. Trombelli, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis ab Oderico eiusdem Ecclesiae Canonico Anno MCCXIII Compositus* (Siena 1766).

<sup>62</sup> An act signed on 18 December 1181 states «*Hoc actum est in camera Donni archidiaconi in presentia magistris Johannis canonici...*». Fumi (1884), p.34, doc.L; Natalini (1955), p.205.

<sup>63</sup> After 1200 the term *magister* was given to a scholar who had fulfilled his requirements and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree, he was then required to study an ulterior two years if he wished to teach in the Arts Faculty of a *Studium Generale* or six or seven more years should he wish to become a master of theology, a lawyer or a physician. Grant (2005), pp.16-17. Giovanna Leoni points out that unfortunately the documents never specify the faculty in which the Orvietan canons qualified as masters. They may well have been *magistri artium*, or *magistri Sacrae Pagine* or *magistri Sacre teologie*. Leoni (1994-2001), p.178.



cathedral chapter at the same time.<sup>64</sup> Amongst the Orvietan canons entitled *magister*, the frequent appearance of «*magistro Goçone pape scriptore canonico Urbevetano*» as early as 15 November 1228, right through to his last signature on 5 November 1257, marks an early and intense interest on the part of the papacy in thirteenth-century Orvietan affairs.<sup>65</sup> In 1290 pope Nicholas IV's mediator in the negotiations with the chapter regarding the cathedral in Orvieto, Nicola di Trevi, was careful to confirm that the chapter would indeed receive the church of S. Ippolito in Val di Lago from the bishop of Orvieto as compensation for land lost to the new cathedral project, providing the chapter maintained «...*unum scolarem instituendum per eos ibidem et habere ac tenere perpetuo teneantur,...*».<sup>66</sup> It is unclear whether this school outside the city was an ulterior institution of learning to the original chapter school nominated in the earlier documents, or whether the original chapter school had to be transferred out of the city centre with the chapter's considerable loss of land due to the new and enlarged cathedral premises.

Although no mention of a *scriptorium* or a library exists in remaining documentary sources referring to the cathedral chapter in Orvieto, inventories of the chapter list numerous liturgical texts and at least two further scribes are noted besides the papal scribe «*magister Goçone*».<sup>67</sup> These documents, the two manuscripts M 464 and M 465, once belonging to the chapter of the cathedral of Orvieto and now held in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and two additional thirteenth-century codices narrating the *Lives of Saints* in the Archivio Capitolare in Orvieto, suggest that

<sup>64</sup> Leoni (1994-2001), p.177.

<sup>65</sup> The scribe Goçone was probably directly employed by the curia. Other canons who held the title of *Magistro* appearing in the Orvietan documents after «*mastro Iohanni...canonico*» in 1181 are: «*magister Marianus archidiaconus*» who appears frequently in the years following the first document dated 19 February 1221; «*Magistro Benencasa clerico Sancti Constantii*» first mentioned in a document of 7 April 1231; «*magister Guilielmus*» first mentioned on 23 March 1229 and who went on to become archpriest of San Costanzo in 1250; a certain «*magistro Ildribandino canonico*» was chamberlain of the chapter from 1248 and became archpriest in 1252; «*magister Ionte...canonico*» is named chamberlain of the chapter in a document dated 28 January 1257; «*magister Bendifende archidiaconus*» and «*magister Andrea canonicus*» are both named on 20 February and 20 September 1268 respectively and documents dated 22 June and 20 November 1284 both record «*magister Nicolaus de Guarcino camerario dicti capituli*». Leoni (1994-2001), pp.177-180; Fumi (1884), p.33, doc. XLVIII; Orvieto, Archivio Capitolare, *Codice di S. Costanzo*, c.12 v, 1221 febbraio 19; c.27 v, 1228 novembre 15; c. 38 r, 1229 marzo 23; c. 40 v, 1231 aprile 7; c. 98 v, 1248 aprile 20; c. 101 v, 1250 luglio 24; c. 105 v, 1252 settembre 25; c.122 v, 1257 gennaio 28; c.140 v, 1257 novembre 5; c.171 v, 1268 febbraio 20; c. 189 v, 1268 settembre 20; c. 214 r, 1284 giugno 22; c. 226 r, 1284 novembre 20.

<sup>66</sup> V. Natalini (1955), pp.196-197; Fumi (2002), pp.86-89.

<sup>67</sup> Two inventories of the possessions belonging to the Orvieto cathedral chapter in the sacristy of San Costanzo and in the pieve di Santa Maria list numerous liturgical texts. Leoni (1994-2001), pp.178, 179, Appendici 3, 4. The *Codice di San Costanzo* mentions «*magistri Ugolini scriptoris*» and «*magistro Xristofano scribtoe*», as well as the papal scribe «*magister Goço*». Leoni (1994-2001), pp. 178, 180; Orvieto, Archivio Capitolare, *Codice di San Costanzo*, c. 102 r, 1251 febbraio 9; c. 117 v, 1255 novembre 11; c.140 v, 1257 novembre 5.

the Orvietan chapter probably did have its own library and may well have administered a *scriptorium* alongside the scholastic activities of its *magistri* and *primicerius*.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the scholars at the *scriptorium* in Orvieto, the presence of the papal court there also attracted physicians to the city. The pope and his cardinals were normally aging by the time they attained their high ranking status and paid handsomely for the services of a good doctor; Boniface VIII is known to have employed as many as eight doctors.<sup>69</sup> A member of the papal court in residence of Urban IV, the Cistercian cardinal John of Toledo preached the crusade against the Saracens in Orvieto on 14 July 1264.<sup>70</sup> It was probably around this date that the feminine Cistercian convent of Santa Trinità, funded by the same cardinal, was founded on the outskirts of Orvieto.<sup>71</sup> Contemporary sources attest that the English cardinal held the title of *magister* and was an expert in medical matters.<sup>72</sup> A lost letter of circa 1280 from Pope Martin IV to Hugh of Evesham requesting that he teach medicine at the papal court was recorded by the early English historian John Bale, which suggests that lectures in medicine were also

<sup>68</sup> The two manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York were once held in a single binding. The final page of M456 is a thirteenth century chronicle by bishop Ranerio of Orvieto featuring pope Innocent III's preaching of the crusade in the cathedral of Santa Maria in 1216. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, *Bible*, M 464 and M 465, twelfth and early thirteenth century; Leoni (1994-2001), p.181; L. Riccetti, 'La cronaca di Ranerio vescovo di Orvieto (1228-1248). Una prima ricognizione', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 43 (1989), pp.480-509. The thirteenth century *Codice I* in the Archivio Capitolare of Orvieto contains the life of Pietro Parenzo, martyred in Orvieto, which is entitled: *Codex Urbevetanum / olim opera et sumptibus / presbiteri Guidonis Valloclensis Ecclesiae S. Constantii Parrochialis et SS. V. Mariae Cathedralis Cappellani / circa annum 1250 per amanuenses exaratum*, was definitely written in Orvieto and was intrinsically connected to the city's cathedral chapter. Leoni, (1994-2001), p.181.

<sup>69</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (Rome 1996), pp.165-177. For a detailed analysis of physicians at the papal court see: Paravicini Bagliani, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento* (Spoleto 1991). Thérèse Boespflug names eight physicians in attendance of Boniface VIII: Accursinus de Pistorio, Anselmus de Pergamo, Arnaldus de Villanova, Campanus Panibada de Novaia, Guillelmus de Corvis de Brixia, Johannes de Thoco, Mantia de Fabriano and Raynerius Incessi. They were definitely not the only doctors to be called upon by Boniface and probably were not all in attendance contemporaneously. T. Boespflug, *La curie au temps de Boniface VIII. Étude prosopographique* (Roma 2005), p.554.

<sup>70</sup> R. Valentini, 'Il Convento della Trinità presso Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 1 (1946), p.1.

<sup>71</sup> A bull dated 27 November 1243 from pope Innocent IV to the bishop of Orvieto documents the existence of a feminine convent dedicated to Santa Trinità near Orvieto. R. Valentini (1946), p.2; *Reg. Inn. IV*, 53. A second later bull of 10 July 1297 from the registers of pope Boniface VIII names cardinal John of Toledo as the founder and funder of a convent of Santa Trinità at Orvieto «...monasterium de Trinitate propre Urbemveterem quod olim bonae memoriae I. episcopus Portuensis construxit de bonis propriis et dotavit». A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di curia e 'familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols. (Padova 1972), p.235; R. Valentini (1946), p.6; Fumi (1884), p.397.

<sup>72</sup> Paravicini Bagliani suggests that despite his English origins, cardinal John was qualified by the name 'of Toledo' because he had studied medicine in the city. His name is preceded by the title *magister* in chronicles, however this title goes unrecognised in the papal documents. Matthew Paris records John of Toledo as a medical doctor: «Direxerat autem Papa iter illis diebus versus Neapolim, licet in latere quasi pleuresi infirmatus vel lancea sauciatus. Nec potuit ei cardinalis Albi phisica suffragari». Paravicini Bagliani (1972), pp.228-238; M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 26, 16 (1240-1253), v. 430.

offered to members of the curia and their *famiglia* in Orvieto.<sup>73</sup> Roberto «*medico de Urbeveteri*» belonged to the *famiglia* of Goffredo d'Alatri and was a beneficiary of the cardinal's last will and testament, recorded in 1287. He was rewarded for «*VII annis quibus stetit in servitio suo*», which shows that he was probably in the position to attend such medical lectures at the curia in Orvieto and in all probability was strongly urged by his employer to do so.<sup>74</sup>

Physicians, Lawyers and Theologians were all specialized professionals. They achieved their qualification by entering the arts faculty of a *Studium Generale* at graduate level. This first degree was followed by post graduate studies in one of the university's three graduate programmes of theology, law or medicine.<sup>75</sup> A large part of the programme of the Bachelor of Arts degree at undergraduate level in a *Studium Generale* during the second half of the thirteenth century consisted of Aristotle's logic and natural philosophy.<sup>76</sup> University students usually began their studies at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Once they had fulfilled their undergraduate obligations they were expected to study a further six or seven years in order to obtain their specialisation.<sup>77</sup> Any lector at the *Studium Curiae* present in Orvieto had a solid grounding in Aristotelian natural philosophy and a great many members of the papal court would also have studied Aristotle.

The concept of the eternity of the world was central to Aristotle's natural philosophy and posed "a direct threat to the creation account in the Genesis" (Fig. 57).<sup>78</sup> In the early 1250s the Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas (canonised in 1323), Peter of Tarentaise (elected Pope Innocent V at Arezzo 21 January 1276), and the Franciscan Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (canonised in 1482) all composed questions on the eternity

<sup>73</sup> The English historian John Bale claimed that Pope Martin IV had called Hugh of Evesham to teach medicine at the papal court in circa 1280. He based his assertion, which was published in his catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance English authors printed in 1557-1559, on a letter sent from Pope Martin IV. Paravicini Bagliani (Torino 1996), p.138, n.66; A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'A proposito dell'insegnamento di medicina allo *Studium Curiae*', in *Studi sul XIV secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier* (Roma 1981), pp.395-407.

<sup>74</sup> Goffredo d'Alatro was promoted cardinal deacon of Saint George by Pope Urban IV in December 1261 and died in 1287. His last will and testament is published by Paravicini Bagliani. Eubel (1960), p.8; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome 1980), p.229-233.

<sup>75</sup> Southern (2001), p.108.

<sup>76</sup> John Murdoch writes of the unitary character of medieval learning and suggests that: "Unification occurred,... by means of the systematic application of Aristotelian conceptions, definitions, and principles to theological subjects." Grant (2005), p.16; J. Murdoch, "From Social into Intellectual Factors: an Aspect of the Unitary Character of Late Medieval Learning", in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on Philosophy, Science, and Theology in the Middle Ages – September 1973 (Leiden 1975), p.308.

<sup>77</sup> Grant (2005), p.17.

<sup>78</sup> Grant (2005), p.26.

of the world and discussed them in their commentaries of Peter Lombard's *Sentenze*.<sup>79</sup> Peter Lombard had signalled a direct conflict between natural philosophy and theology concerning the Eucharist.<sup>80</sup> In Distinction 10 of Book Four of the *Sentenze* he writes "there are some insane people who, measuring the power of God by natural means, audaciously and dangerously contradict the truth, asserting that the body and blood of Christ are not actually present and that when Christ said, 'This is my body', he was speaking only metaphorically."<sup>81</sup>

Thomas Aquinas was present as lector at the Dominican convent in Orvieto for four years from autumn of 1261, where he became acquainted with Pope Urban IV, who probably commissioned the liturgy of the Eucharist from him circa 1264 (Fig. 23).<sup>82</sup> In Orvieto Bonaventure of Bagnoregio delivered two sermons to the papal curia in December 1262 and an ulterior sermon before the General Consistory in the Summer of 1264.<sup>83</sup> An examination of Bonaventure's works, in particular a series of "Lectures on the Hexameron" held by him at the University of Paris in the summer of 1273, reveals that the Franciscan believed that the "Old and New Testaments were related to each other "as a tree to a tree" (Fig. 108).<sup>84</sup> They were two halves of historical time in which Christ appears as the true center and turning point of history.<sup>85</sup> On the Orvieto cathedral façade – probably due to its dedication to the Virgin - this central position is also extended to Mary, the mother of God (Fig. 56). Bonaventure's historical schema appears to have been well known to those responsible for the iconographic programme on the cathedral façade at Orvieto. In this light Brooke's observation that "Nicholas IV was a close student of Bonaventure's writings. While he was Minister General he actually added three paragraphs to the *Leggenda Major*..." provides further support for

<sup>79</sup> Dales (1990), p.87; M.E. Bunson, *Dizionario Universale del Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Rome 2002), II, p.951; Eubel (1960), p.9.

<sup>80</sup> Peter Lombard studied in Bologna, Reims and Paris and taught at the school of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, where he was nominated bishop in 1159. His *Sententiarium libri IV* was composed from circa 1148 to 1150/1151. M.E. Bunson (2002), II, p.819.

<sup>81</sup> E. Sylla, 'Autonomous and Handmaiden Science: St. Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham on the Physics of the Eucharist', in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on Philosophy, Science, and Theology in the Middle Ages – September 1973, ed. J.E. Murdoch and E.D. Sylla (Leiden 1975), p.361.

<sup>82</sup> Lansing (1998), p.165; Rubin (1991), p.187.

<sup>83</sup> R. Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Francesco in Orvieto e San Bonaventura', *Doctor Seraphicus*, 5 (1958), p.54, n.8.

<sup>84</sup> J. Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St. Bonaventure*, translated by Z. Hayes (Chicago 1989), pp.11-12.

<sup>85</sup> Ratzinger (1989), pp.11-12; *What Manner of Man? Sermons on Christ by St. Bonaventure*, translated with Introduction by Z. Hayes (Chicago 1974), pp.16-17.

the argument that Pope Nicholas IV was a prime member of the driving force behind the initiation of the cathedral project in Orvieto.<sup>86</sup>

Meanwhile, back at the *Studium Generale* in Paris, things had been brewing. In 1266 the theological question of the eternity of the world was raised again. This same year saw an outbreak of conflict of jurisdictions and personalities between the faculties of the Arts and that of Theology at the University of Paris. Siger of Brabant, who was later to write a treatise on the eternity of the world, was leader of the masters of arts.<sup>87</sup> A group of the masters of the arts at Paris had “progressed beyond the simple explication of the texts of grammar, logic, and the natural philosophy of Aristotle to a deep and enthusiastic appreciation of the philosophic life. They considered the pursuit of truth by reason the highest attainment possible to man, and they debated many questions drawn from the text of Aristotle in a way which seemed”... “to reach conclusions contrary to the teachings of the Christian faith”.<sup>88</sup> News of these masters must have reached the ears of Pope Urban IV in Orvieto by 19 January 1263, when he confirmed preceding prohibitions of Aristotle’s works.<sup>89</sup>

Bonaventure, who had been Minister General of the Franciscans for ten years, was again present in Paris from September 1267 to May 1268. In a series of sermons given there, he spoke out harshly against “the independent use of philosophy without the light of faith” and calls attention to some of the erring philosophers.<sup>90</sup> On 10 December 1270 the bishop of Paris issued a decree prohibiting any master at the *Studium generale* to sustain a series of thirteen propositions, including those of the eternity of the world and that there was no first man. In 1272 the arts faculty forbade its members to debate topics reserved to theology.<sup>91</sup> The debate obviously had not died down by 1273-1276, when Albert the Great, another theologian present at the *Studium curiae* at Orvieto, was drawn into discussing the question by his Dominican pupil Gilles of Lessines.<sup>92</sup> The eminent theologian cagily answered maintaining a position similar to that of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> R.B. Brooke, *The Image of Saint Francis. Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge 2006), p.442.

<sup>87</sup> Siger of Brabant’s “*De aeternitate mundi*” can be dated to some time between 1270 and 1272. R.C. Dales (1990), p.109, 129.

<sup>88</sup> Dales (1990), p.109.

<sup>89</sup> Dales (1990), p.110.

<sup>90</sup> Dales (1990), p.115.

<sup>91</sup> Dales (1990), p.129.

<sup>92</sup> Albertus Magnus was at the papal court of Urban IV in Orvieto from October 1262 until February 1263. Dales (1990), p.156. Riccetti (2005), p.165; J.A. Weisheipl, *Tommaso D’Aquino. Vita, pensiero, opere*, trad. A. Pedrazzi (Milan 1987), pp. 70-71, 153-154, 191, 405-406.

<sup>93</sup> Dales (1990), p.157.

The debate drew on and at some time between 1275 and 1277, a Franciscan friar who was regent in theology at Paris, Matthew of Aquasparta wrote a treatise entitled *Quaeritur, supposito secundum fidem quod mundus non sit aeternum sed productus ex tempore, utrum potuit esse ab aeterno vel utrum deus potuit ipsum ab aeterno producere*. The Franciscan master, who was later to become lecturer at the papal curia in 1279, Minister General of the Franciscans in 1287 and was made cardinal priest of San Lorenzo in Damaso by Nicholas IV in 1288, expressed a conservative position, eloquently and succinctly.<sup>94</sup> As cardinal he was twice Boniface VIII's legate to Tuscany and Lombardy (1297, 1300) and was the pope's grand penitentiary from 1298 to 1299. In 1297 he was named testamentary executor in the last will and testament of cardinal Hugh of Aycelin drawn up in Orvieto.<sup>95</sup>

In 1278 the moderate theologian, Giles of Rome was expelled from the faculty of theology at the University of Paris for having maintained censured positions. He was readmitted to the faculty after his request for papal intervention had been sustained by Pope Martin IV in 1285.<sup>96</sup> Prior to this, Siger of Brabant had been condemned for heresy by the bishop of Paris and was summoned before the Grand Inquisitor of France, Simon Duval in 1277. The master of arts fled to Italy, where he too was probably appealing to Pope Martin IV and to the papal court for leniency, when he was assassinated in Orvieto in 1282.<sup>97</sup> Appealing to the papal court for support often proved fruitful for intellectuals who were persecuted for the results of their scholarship.<sup>98</sup> An early twelfth-century example of intellectual brilliance benefiting from the help of friends in the high places was Abelard, whose fate brought about by St. Bernard of Clairvaux's accusations of heresy could have been a lot worse than living out his life

<sup>94</sup> Dales (1990), p.162; Eubel (1960), p.11.

<sup>95</sup> Boespflug (2005), p.285.

<sup>96</sup> The papal court of Pope Martin IV in Orvieto was the longest of all Orvician papal residencies. He stayed for an accumulative period of 1101 days from 23 March 1281 to 24 June 1282 and 25 December 1282 to 27 June 1284. A. Paravicini Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi locali', *Società e Istituzioni dell'Italia Comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*, Congresso storico internazionale, Perugia 6-9 November 1985 (Perugia 1988), I, p.163, 240-241; Dales (1990), p.179.

<sup>97</sup> Siger of Brabant joins St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure in Dante's *Paradiso*. In the collection of sonnets attributed to Dante, the poem "Fiore" speaks of "mastro Sighier" who died "a ghiado nella Corte di Roma ad Orbiviedo". Bunson writes that his secretary, who was of poor mental health, stabbed him to death in 1282. If he was indeed at the papal court, this act is likely to have occurred before 24 June 1282 or directly after Christmas Day, when Martin IV was present at Orvieto. M.E. Bunson, *Dizionario Universale del Medioevo*, II, p.904; Satolli (1968), p.16; A. Satolli, 'Storia e struttura urbana di Orvieto medioevale', in *Orvieto: progetto per una città utopica*, ed. P.M. Toesca (Siena 1985), p.166; J. Le Goff, *Genio del medioevo* (Mondadori 1959), p.135; Paravicini Bagliani (1988), I, p.240-241.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Southern writes "Indeed, the popes were the greatest allies that the masters of the schools ever had..." R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Foundations*, vol.1 (Oxford 1995), p.162.

under the protection of the abbot of Cluny, had there been no intervention from his friends at the curia.<sup>99</sup>

Discontent at the *Studium generale* of Paris continued to ferment and circa “1290 the secular masters of theology tried to extend their right to interpret Scripture and judge the orthodoxy of university teaching and writing to include the interpretation of Martin IV’s 1281 privilege for the Franciscans”.<sup>100</sup> For the first time the papacy became involved in the University of Paris’ ongoing power struggles in first person. Nicholas IV’s representative in the matter was none other than Benedetto Caetani, the future Boniface VIII and Orvietan papal resident.<sup>101</sup> Benedetto addressed the French secular masters in tones which brooked no argument: «*Seditis in Cathedris et putatis quod vestris rationibus regatur Christus. Nam consciencia plurimorum vestris frivolis rationibus sauciat. Non sic, fratres mei, non sic! Set quia nobis commissus est mundus, cogitare debemus non quid expediat vobis clericis pro vestro libito, set quid expediat orbi universo.*»<sup>102</sup>

The Parisian debate continues well after Benedetto Caetani’s intervention; however this decisive action on the part of the papacy marks the end of the disjointed sequence of affairs listed above which I hope serve to illustrate the frequent interaction between the academics in Paris and the papal court residing in Orvieto, and the presence of many protagonists of the Parisian dispute in Orvieto. Despite the enormous distance of approximately 1140 km between Paris and Orvieto, the cohesive structure of the international academic community and its ultimate point of reference - which is to be identified in the headquarters of the Roman Church - meant that the theological turmoil created by the (over?)zealous application of Aristotelian rationale to theological questions, such as ‘whether the world was eternal’ or ‘whether there was a first man’, must also have been strongly felt in academic circles of debate in medieval Orvieto.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Southern (2001), pp.102-103.

<sup>100</sup> W.J. Courtenay, ‘Inquiry and Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities’, *Church History*, 58 (June 1989), p.175.

<sup>101</sup> Boniface VIII resided for a total of 149 days in Orvieto with the papal court from 6 June to 1 November 1291. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), I, pp. 163, 243.

<sup>102</sup> “You sit in your professorial chairs and think that Christ is ruled by your reasonings.... Not so, my brethren, not so! The world is committed to us, and we have to think of what is expedient for the world, not of what is expedient or agreeable to you.” Courtenay (1989), pp.175-176, n.18; R.W. Southern, “The Changing Role of Universities in Medieval Europe”, *Historical Research*, 60 (1987), p. 136; *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, ed. by H. Finke (Münster 1902), pp.vi-vii.

<sup>103</sup> Paravicini Bagliani writes that the *Studium Curiae*, together with the less official intellectual competition encouraged amongst his chaplains by popes such as Urban IV and the theological (and perhaps medical) disputes which were held with increasing frequency at the Roman curia towards the end of the thirteenth century, served a double function. It attracted intellectuals of international status serving as an instrument of intellectual transmission and at the same time it was an academic space ideal for these

The Franciscan William of Ockham became involved in the Aristotelian dispute at a later date than the protagonists cited above, however his comment regarding the question of who had decisional authority when theologians disagreed about matters of Christian faith is pertinent to our argument.<sup>104</sup> “Only the Pope”, Ockham says, “can decide when theologians disagree concerning Christian faith. The Inquisition is often staffed by simple men and hence it would be absurd to submit to it difficult and profound matters on which university professors disagree.”<sup>105</sup> The fact that Ockham changed his mind about the pope not long after, judging him an unreliable arbitrator, does not subtract from the fact that in matters of theology, general opinion stipulated that the pope had the last word.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to these academic preoccupations, Orvieto's heretical past was not so remote as to be forgettable, and the unprecedented placement of the colossal Genesis cycle as an introduction to the façade narrative on the city's cathedral was the Roman Catholic Church's response to these phenomena (Fig. 57). In a similar tone to that used by Benedetto Caetani when admonishing the wayward Parisian intellectuals at the Faculty of Arts in 1290, the papal court in Orvieto issued a precise visual statement which aimed at contemporaneously quelling the religious doubts plaguing both intellectuals and the less lofty minded inhabitants of the medieval city. In the Genesis reliefs on the Orvieto cathedral façade - the pope had spoken.

### Drawings for a Pulpit

Three fragments of parchment in the Opera del Duomo di Orvieto, the British Museum in London and the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin are all that remains of another important project destined for the cathedral of Orvieto (Figs. 149, 150, 151).<sup>107</sup>

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scholars to further their study. This was the cultural climate at the papal court in Orvieto during the second half of the thirteenth century. Paravicini Bagliani (Torino 1996), pp.144-145. 1140 km is the distance travelled overland by car from Paris to Rome as cited in *Europa. Atlante stradale e turistico*. Touring Club Italiano (Milan 2003).

<sup>104</sup> William of Ockham defended his *Commenti alle Sentenze* of Peter Lombard, in Paris in 1324. He died in 1329. M.E. Bunson, *Dizionario Universale del Medioevo*, I (Roma 2002), p.569.

<sup>105</sup> Sylla (1975), p.375.

<sup>106</sup> Sylla (1975), p.390, n.114.

<sup>107</sup> The largest fragment remains in Orvieto and measures 47.5 x 87 cm, followed by the London and Berlin fragments 11 x 41.3 cm and 24.9 x 24.7 cm respectively. The drawing is executed in sepia ink on parchment and has been attributed to Andrea Orcagna, Agostino di Giovanni, Lorenzo Maitani, and more generally to the Sienese School 1340-1360. The reference for the British Museum fragment is 1899-6-17-2 and that of the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin is KdZ 3392. No numerical catalogue reference is given for the largest illustration at the Museo dell'Opera in Orvieto. Calderoni Masetti records a payment made to Nicolao de Senis in 1358 for a marble tabernacle for the papal palace in her article discussing the three drawing fragments. Unfortunately, the generic nature of the document does not allow for anything more conclusive than its mention in this context. A.R. Calderoni Masetti, 'Sui



Unfortunately, the drawing is neither signed nor dated and its two-dimensional rendering of an architectural structure obscures the actual function of the sculptural piece.<sup>108</sup> Common consensus agrees that the drawing was a pulpit design and both a hexagonal and an octagonal model have been suggested.<sup>109</sup> The use of decorative motifs recurrent in Sienese goldsmiths' work during the first half of the fourteenth century, which are exemplified in the Reliquary of the Corporal signed by Ugolino di Vieri in Orvieto cathedral, and the accentuated finesse of the structure's supporting polygonal pilasters have also brought about the suggestion that the drawing in fact illustrates micro-architecture and was designed to be executed in precious metals and enamels.<sup>110</sup> Calderoni Masetti highlights the similarity of the intended polygonal dimensions of the sculptural monument in the Orvieto drawing to the lower portion of

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disegni figurati Trecenteschi del Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto', in *Ori e Tesori d'Europa*, Atti del Convegno di Studio, Castello di Udine, 3-5 dicembre 1991 (Udine 1992), p.251, n.24.

<sup>108</sup> Studies which have examined these drawings include: A. Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. The Pulpits* (London 2005), H.L. Geddes, 'A Trecento drawing for a Pulpit: a reappraisal. (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto; British Museum (1899-6-17-2), London; Kupferstichkabinett (2293), Berlin)' (Masters dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1991); *Die Meisterwerke aus dem Kupferstichkabinett*, Staatliche Museum, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin 1980), Cat. 2; P. Dreyer, *I grandi disegni italiani del Kupferstichkabinett di Berlino* (Milan 1979); A. Garzelli, *Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo*, Musei d'Italia – Meraviglie d'Italia (Bologna 1972), Cat. 80, fig. 80-88; B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, *Corpus der Italiensichen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1968), I, Cat. 40-42, pl. 71-75, 144; P. Toësca, *Il Trecento* (Turin 1951), p.301; A. E. Popham and P. Pouncey, *Italian drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum: the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2 vols. (London 1950), Cat. 268; G. Arnolds, 'Italienische Zeichnungen', *Zeichnungen des Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin* (Berlin 1949), pl.1; H. Keller, 'Die Bauplastik des Sienenser Doms', *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana*, I (1937), pp. 204-206, n. 129; L.M. Tosi, 'Andrea Orcagna Architetto', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 27 (1933-1934), p.520; A. E. Popham, *Italian Drawings exhibited in the Royal Academy, Burlington House* (London 1930), Cat. 4, pl.IV; R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Florentine School of the 14<sup>th</sup> century*, vol.3 (The Hague 1924), p.472; L. Fumi, *Orvieto*, Italia Artistica, 83 (Bergamo 1919), pp. 100 ff.; O. Sirén, 'Florentiner Trecentozeichnungen', *Jahrbuch den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 27 (Berlin 1906), p.208; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, 11 vols. (Milan 1901-1940), IV, p.397; W. Suida, *Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV Jahrhunderts Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes*, 32 (Strasbourg 1905), pl. XXXV; C. Dodgson, *Vasari Society, First Series*, I (London 1905/1906), no. 23-25, pp. 16-20; C.A. Loeser, 'Über einige italienische Handzeichnungen des Berliner Kupferstichkabinets', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 25 (Berlin 1902), p. 4, no. 3392 (Andrea Orcagna); C. von Fabriczy, 'Der Entwurf zu der nicht ausgeführt Domkanzel in Orvieto', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 16 (Berlin 1893), pp. 151-152; A. Venturi, 'Lorenzo Maitani, c. 1330', *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 5 (Rome 1892), pp. 210-211; L. Beltrami, 'Andrea Orcagna, autore di un disegno per il pulpito di Orvieto', *Album Poliglotta per il VI centenario del Duomo di Orvieto* (Orvieto 1891), p. 29 (A. Orcagna).

<sup>109</sup> B. Degenhart, A. Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1400, Süd und Mittelitalien*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1968), I, p.99; Calderoni Masetti (1992), p.23; A. Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. The Pulpits* (London 2005), p.121.

<sup>110</sup> Calderoni Masetti notes that the Miracle of Bolsena produced other relics apart from the Corporal and the bloody Host held in the cathedral reliquary, however the absence of any narrative referring to the Miracle makes it highly unlikely that the drawings were destined for a reliquary to contain such relics. The scholar cites the example of a late thirteenth century purse in gold brocade, which may well be identifiable with the same object in early seventeenth-century documents referring to a purse holding fragments of the Corporal housed in "bucette" in Andrea Orcagna's tabernacle. The scholar concludes that the iconographic programme of the drawings was better adapted to a "monstrancia". Calderoni Masetti (1992), pp.248-254.

the precious tabernacle placed on the altar in the scene illustrating the Presentation at the Temple in both the drawing itself and an enamelled plaque on the Reliquary of the Corporal. The scholar suggests that given the iconography of the drawing and the popularity of the cult of the Virgin in Orvieto, the object in question may well illustrate plans for a *monstrancia*. This metallic construction was built to hold the consecrated host and became increasingly popular over the fourteenth century.<sup>111</sup> If the drawing was for a monstrance, it is incomplete. Only the lower tiers of the object appear on the parchment. These, according to the scholar, would have been later completed by a pyramid of decorative gables and pinnacles.

The theory that the drawing illustrates an object to be realised in metalwork, rather than of larger dimensions in stone, is attractive. First impressions of the preparatory design immediately suggest an author used to working in detail and miniscule proportions, and as the object was obviously intended to be three dimensional, a Sienese goldsmith appears to be the obvious solution to the question of its authorship. The dramatic emotive gestures of individual figures within the crowded scenes of narrative and the emphasis of human sentiment are reminiscent of Simone Martini's work exemplified in the small panels of the Orsini Polyptych (Fig. 152).<sup>112</sup> It should not be forgotten that a good part of the formation of the Sienese author of the great *Maestà* covering the wall of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, was influenced by the work of goldsmiths.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, famous Tuscan goldsmiths of the first half of the fourteenth century, such as Andrea Pisano or Lando di Pietro, were also known for their work in monumental dimensions as stone sculptors, bronze casters and master builders.<sup>114</sup> The Sienese sculptor Goro di Gregorio is the epitome of this open dialogue in act between monumental arts and "decorative" artworks produced by goldsmiths

<sup>111</sup> Calderoni Masetti (1992), p.252.

<sup>112</sup> The Orsini family's coat of arms appears on the polyptych, hence its name. It is also known as the Antwerp Polyptych. Four panels illustrating the Angel Gabriel, the Virgin Annunciate, the Crucifixion and the Deposition are at the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts* in Antwerp. A fifth panel is in the *Preussischer Kulturbesitz* of the Berlin Staatliche Museen and the final panel in at the *Musée du Louvre* in Paris. A. Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford 1988), pp.171-173.

<sup>113</sup> Simone Martini faithfully reproduces Guccio di Mannaia's seal for the Sienese Comune's at the base of his *Maestà*. E. Cioni, *Scultura e smalto nell'oreficeria senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence 1998), pp.55-56; L. Bellosi, 'Il pittore oltremontano di Assisi, il Gotico a Siena e la formazione di Simone Martini', in *Simone Martini*, Atti del convegno Siena 27-29 March 1985, ed. by L. Bellosi (Firenze 1988), pp.43-46.

<sup>114</sup> Andrea Pisano is still documented as *aurifex* in 1336. Lando di Pietro was also a hydraulics engineer and the father of Viva di Lando, who signed the Orvietan Reliquary of S. Savino alongside Ugolino di Vieri. Calderoni Masetti (1992), pp. 248-249; *Andrea, Nino e Tommaso, scultori pisani*, ed. by M.G. Burresi (Milan 1983), p.203; Cioni (1998), pp. 469-621.

during the first half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 134).<sup>115</sup> The accentuated *hanchement* which characterises the figures in the drawing and the attention to detail in the densely populated narrative, is similar to the scenes illustrating the life of S. Cerbone on the homonymous Arca in the cathedral of Massa Marittima.<sup>116</sup> Details, such as the clusters of horses in the drawing's Crucifixion scene and its definition of architecture in the Marriage of the Virgin, can also be related to similar features on the Arca di S. Cerbone and in the remains of the relief panels on the tomb of Guidotto d'Abbate. Furthermore, an early nineteenth-century publication mentions Goro, a pupil of Arnolfo's, as having worked on the façade sculpture of the cathedral at Orvieto.<sup>117</sup>

The son of Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti, a Florentine sculptor and Sienese citizen from 1272, Goro di Gregorio is first documented alongside his brothers Meo and Ambrogio in the tax records of the Comune di Siena in 1311: «*Maestro Meo e fratelli*».<sup>118</sup> The following year the three brothers are mentioned again, together with their father in the same records: «*Maestro Meo, Ambruogio e Ghorò figliuoli che furo del Maestro Ghorò della pietra*».<sup>119</sup> Bartalini stresses the distinction made by the documents between Maestro Meo and his brothers Ambrogio and Goro who are cited without a title, deducing that Goro must have been an apprentice sculptor in the years before 1311 and 1312.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, no documentation exists as to the precise length of Goro's apprenticeship. However, given his father's Florentine roots and the presence of Arnolfo di Cambio as master builder of the Florentine cathedral until his death at an as

<sup>115</sup> Roberto Bartalini writes: "Goro si caratterizza per un estremismo gotico che lo apparenta, unico fra gli scultori, al grande capitolo dell'oreficeria senese, che tra Due e Trecento, a partire dal calice di Guccio di Maniaia eseguito per papa Niccolò IV (1288-1292), rappresenta quanto di più organicamente "oltremontano" si producesse in Italia". Goro di Gregorio is first documented in 1311-1312 at which time he has not yet qualified as "magister" and his last remaining documented work of art is the funeral monument of Archbishop Guidotto d'Abbate, which he signed and dated 1333. The inscription on the archbishop's tomb, damaged by an earthquake in 1908 and again by fire in 1943, is signed: «M[A]G[ISTE]R GREGOR[IUS] DE GREGORIO DE SENIS FECIT» and dated: «ANNO D[OMI]NI MCCCXXXIII IND[ICT]IONE I V M[ENS] MARTII». R. Bartalini, *Scultura gotica in Toscana. Maestri, monumenti, cantieri del Due e Trecento* (Milan 2005), pp. 110, 140-149.

<sup>116</sup> E. Carli, *Goro di Gregorio* (Firenze 1946), p.33-39; Bartalini (2005), p.140.

<sup>117</sup> Fumi mentions Cicognara's reference to "Goro, condiscipolo di Arnolfo". Fumi (2002), p.92; Cicognara, citing documentation no longer available to Fumi, affirmed that Goro di Gregorio worked on the Cathedral of Orvieto. Conte Leopoldo Cicognara, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova*, 7 vols. (Prato 1823-1824), II, pp.143.

<sup>118</sup> Kreytenberg suggests that Goro di Gregorio was born around 1275. Considering the young sculptor had not yet finished his apprenticeship in 1312, Kreytenberg's date of birth seems a little too early, as it would mean that Goro was still an apprentice at 37 years of age. G. Kreytenberg, 'Goro di Gregorio', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 58 (Rome 2002), p.86-88.

<sup>119</sup> Bartalini (2005), p.114, note 43; G. Milanese, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese* (1854-1856), pp.153-154; P. Bacci, *Fonti e commenti per la storia dell'arte senese* (Firenze 1944), pp. 99, 103; Archivio di Stato di Siena, *Lira 7*, c.50 r., *Lira 10*, c. 124v.

<sup>120</sup> Bartalini (2005), p.108.

of yet uncertain time between 1301 and 1310, Cicognara's assertion that Goro was once an apprentice to Arnolfo is entirely probable.<sup>121</sup>

Calderoni Masetti's suggestion that the drawing was intended to be realised in metalwork is also possible, however the examples of micro architecture suggested by the scholar all correspond to the drawing only in the lower levels of its realisation, which leads to the necessary hypothesis that the drawing was either unfinished or partial.<sup>122</sup> The scholar tends to minimise the numerous examples of monumental works of art which can also be associated with the drawing. There are evident structural similarities between the Orvieto drawing and the innovative series of polygonal pulpits produced by Nicola and his son Giovanni Pisano for the Tuscan cities of Pisa, Siena and Pistoia (Figs. 130, 131, 132, 133).<sup>123</sup> Although the level of popularity of the pulpit seems to have declined after Giovanni Pisano's final magnificent effort for the Pisan cathedral in 1310, the Orvieto pulpit commission is complemented by two Tuscan commissions: an early fourteenth-century polygonal freestanding pulpit sculpted with relief narrative for the Pisan church of San Michele in Borgo and Pisan artist Giovanni di Balduccio's rectangular pulpit for the church of Santa Maria del Prato in San

<sup>121</sup> The precise date of Arnolfo di Cambio's death has not yet been identified and remains vaguely located between 1301 and 1310. E. Neri Lusanna, 'Arnolfo e Firenze', in *Arnolfo. Alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, exhibition catalogue Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore 21 dicembre 2005 – 21 aprile 2006 (Firenze 2005), p.27. Arnolfo possibly died on 8 March 1302, in which case Cicognara's "Goro, condiscipolo di Arnolfo" is unlikely to have been Goro di Gregorio. C. Frey, 'L'anno di morte di Arnolfo di Cambio', in *Arnolfo. Alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino*, exhibition catalogue Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore 21 dicembre 2005 – 21 aprile 2006 (Firenze 2005), p.525. If Arnolfo survived the first ten years of the fourteenth century, and Goro was his ex-pupil who also worked on the Orvieto cathedral facade, decorative similarities between the facade of Messina cathedral and Arnolfo di Cambio's work, and the suggestion of Goro di Gregorio as a possible author of the Sicilian design should be further investigated. C. Di Giacomo, 'Ancora su Goro di Gregorio e aiuti nei cantieri del Duomo di Messina', in *Scritti in onore di Alessandro Marabottini*, ed. G. Barbera, T. Pugliatti and C. Zappa (Rome 1997), pp.57-64; G. Kreytenberg, 'Goro di Gregorio vor 1324', in *Staedel Jahrbuch*, 13 (1991), pp.125-144.

<sup>122</sup> The drawing has evidently been trimmed down over the years. The fragment in London is reduced to the lower parts only of the narrative panels, this may be a result of 'neatening up the edges' when the original parchment was divided into three parts. The Orvieto fragment has a decidedly moth-eaten appearance, so much so, that the entire first scene of the upper narrative sequence is missing. This possibly illustrated the Annunciation, which is appropriate for the context of the Marriage of the Virgin below and the Nativity directly to the right of it. Despite its lacuneous appearance, enough of the superior cornice remains on the Orvieto fragment to determine that no other levels of decoration were drawn in above it, apart from the rather incongruent representation of a kneeling cherub figure above the illustrations of the Presentation at the Temple and the Flight into Egypt, mistakenly identified as the eagle lectern in previous studies. Calderoni Masetti (1992), p.249.

<sup>123</sup> Nicola Pisano's hexagonal pulpit for the Baptistry of Pisa was finished in 1260. The octagonal pulpit for the Sienese cathedral by the same artist was erected between 1266-1268. Giovanni Pisano's hexagonal pulpit for the 'pieve' of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia was completed in 1301 and he worked on his final circular pulpit for the cathedral of Pisa from 1300 to 1310. M. Seidel, *Il pulpito di Nicola Pisano nel Duomo di Siena* (Milan 1971); E. Carli, *Giovanni Pisano. Il pulpito di Pistoia* (Milan 1986), p.11.

Casciano Val di Pesa on the outskirts of Florence.<sup>124</sup> The Orvieto drawings may well represent the final development of the Pisano model of large free-standing polygonal pulpits.

In addition to its basic dimensions, the most apparent decorative parallel between the Orvieto drawing and the Pisano pulpits, is the use of sculpted figures to punctuate the series of narrative reliefs. This motif was first employed by Nicola Pisano in the Sienese pulpit (Fig. 131). The paired scenes of narrative are comparable to the division of the reliefs on the lower basin of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano's fountain in the Piazza Maggiore at Perugia (Fig. 153).<sup>125</sup> On Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico the narrative episodes dedicated to the life of saint Dominic on the front and back faces of the sarcophagus are also presented side by side and are separated by sculpted figurative columns.<sup>126</sup> This paired division of narrative may well have been inspired by earlier Tuscan pulpits such as that of Master Guglielmo for the Pisan cathedral, the pulpit which was once in the Florentine church of San Piero Scheraggio and the Pistoia pulpits by Guido da Como in San Bartolomeo in Pantano and Fra Guglielmo in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas (Figs. 107, 154). Paired narrative episodes are common to all of these earlier rectangular pulpits and the author of the Orvieto design probably came by the motif via knowledge of the Pisano workshop – whose mentors Nicola and Giovanni were present in at least two of the above listed Tuscan cities – rather than direct inspiration.<sup>127</sup> All of the readable inscriptions on the drawing, except two, correspond to the texts on scrolls held by the divisory figures on the predella of Duccio di Buoninsegna's Maestà, which once adorned the high altar of the Sienese cathedral.<sup>128</sup> This suggests that the author of the proposed pulpit was possibly of Tuscan origins and

<sup>124</sup> The hexagonal Pisan pulpit was dismantled in the seventeenth century and its remains are now housed in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa. The narrative reliefs show no apparent stylistic correspondence to the Orvieto pulpit design, which was evidently executed by a more accomplished artist. The pulpit from the Dominican church in San Casciano, which is now the Misericordia, was sculpted in the late 1330s by Giovanni di Balduccio. Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), pp.118-119; A. Fascetti, 'Ipotesi di ricostruzione del pergamo gotico della chiesa di San Michele in Borgo a Pisa', *Commentari*, 29 (1978), pp.169-174.

<sup>125</sup> Calderoni Masetti (1992), p.245.

<sup>126</sup> Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), p.121.

<sup>127</sup> The Pisan cathedral's original pulpit was sculpted by Master Guglielmo between 1159 and 1162, it is now housed in the cathedral of Cagliari in Sardinia. The pulpit which was once in the Florentine church of San Piero Scheraggio, and is now in San Leonardo in Arcetri in Florence, dates to the last part of the twelfth century. The pulpit in the church of San Bartolomeo in Pantano in Pistoia commissioned of Guido Bigarelli (or Guido da Como) was executed in two distinct phases. It was begun in 1239 and completed in 1250. The pulpit in the parish church of San Giovanni Fuoricivitas by Nicola Pisano's Dominican assistant was commissioned of him after he had worked on the Arca di San Domenico and is generally dated to c.1270. Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), pp.18, 24-25, 115.

<sup>128</sup> Degenhart, Schmitt (1968), I, pp.99-102.

that its iconographic programme was designed by someone familiar with the famous Sienese altarpiece of 1311.

Apart from Giovanni Pisano's pulpit for the church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia, the remaining Pisano pulpits and the preparatory drawing from Orvieto were all executed for cathedral complexes. The double father and son commission for the Pisan complex can be explained by the fact that the Pisan Baptistry was administered by the cathedral chapter, whereas the Duomo and Camposanto came under the jurisdiction of the Opera del Duomo (Figs. 130, 133).<sup>129</sup> It would seem that the two Pisan pulpits were results of a competitive one-upmanship between the commissioning authorities within the cathedral complex: the cathedral canons were anxious to have a pulpit which at least could rival that of Guglielmo in the cathedral. The beauty of Nicola Pisano's large free standing pulpit with its central axis in the Pisan baptistry seems to have been such a success that the Opera del Duomo commissioned an even more ambitious version from his son Giovanni thirty years later.<sup>130</sup> The pulpit of Siena was commissioned of Nicola Pisano in a contract signed by the Cistercian fra Melano di San Galgano, who was rector dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena (Fig. 131).<sup>131</sup> Giovanni Pisano's first pulpit for the church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia bears an inscription naming the 'pievano' Arnoldus as its patron (Fig. 132).<sup>132</sup>

What was the function of these large pulpits? The pulpits were conceived as stages for public ceremonies taking place within the cathedral buildings. In Tuscany the ceremonial rites of the nomination of young knights often took place in city baptisteries. On Christmas Day 1326 Francesco Bandinelli became a knight in a public ceremony which took place in the cathedral of Siena, where after the mass on the pulpit of Nicola Pisano «...ivi (*messer Soçço*) gli cinse la spada sul legio, cioè en sul pergomo del marmo è in duomo...Messer pietro andolfi da roma, el primo vicaro che fusse in siena per lo duca, gli calço lo sprone ritto. El capitano del popolo gli calço lo sprone mancho».<sup>133</sup> Bandinelli was made a knight by the authority of the Comune; such a knighthood was a prerequisite for nominations to positions such as *podestà* or *capitano del popolo* in the communes of Medieval Italy. The ceremony often took place in the city's baptistry because traditionally the youth was symbolically cleansed by water in a

<sup>129</sup> C.A. Smith, 'The Baptistry of Pisa' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1975), pp. 260-273.

<sup>130</sup> M. Seidel, 'Il pulpito come palcoscenico. Sulla funzione dei pulpiti di Nicola e Giovanni Pisano', in *Arte Italiana del Medioevo e del Rinascimento*, 2 vols. (Florence 2003), 2, pp.131.

<sup>131</sup> M. Seidel, *Il pulpito di Nicola Pisano nel Duomo di Siena* (Milan 1971), p.10.

<sup>132</sup> Seidel (2003), p.131; E. Carli (1986), pp.10, 11.

<sup>133</sup> M. Seidel (2003), p.129; C. Mazzi, 'Descrizione della festa in Siena per la cavalleria di Francesco Bandinelli nel 1326', *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 18 (1911), p.359.

sort of second baptismal rite. This knighthood ceremony could also take place in an abbreviated form without the baptismal rite. Similar ceremonies are recorded as having taken place in both the cathedral and the baptistery of Florence employing temporary wooden stages.<sup>134</sup> The commission for Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Pistoia came from the parish church of Sant'Andrea, a baptismal church which had unusually high status in the city and - similar to the parish church of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto - could be defined as Pistoia's "second cathedral".<sup>135</sup>

In Orvieto the city's baptistery of San Giovanni was located until the eleventh or early twelfth century directly behind the church of San Costanzo, where it was administered by the canons of the cathedral chapter.<sup>136</sup> Although the baptismal church of San Giovanni is not documented in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the canons would have continued to assert their jurisdictional rites to perform baptisms, probably continuing to do so in the church of San Costanzo and subsequently in the cathedral. One wonders whether the pulpit of Orvieto was to be located on the right side of the high altar at the level of the penultimate pilaster of the nave, in a position similar to the original medieval collocation of the pulpits in the cathedrals of Pisa, Siena and that of Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the *pieve* of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia?<sup>137</sup> Fourteenth-century Orvieto, unlike Pisa, Siena and Florence, did not have a separate baptistery and its baptismal font was located on the north aisle of the nave, behind the façade mosaics dedicated to the Baptist (Fig. 144). In Florence the temporary structures which the knighthoods were performed upon were set up «*super locum fontium*» in the baptistery.<sup>138</sup> However, the fact that the medieval position of Giovanni's pulpit in the baptismal parish church of Sant'Andrea was identical to that of the two cathedral pulpits in Pisa and Siena suggests that the Orvietan pulpit too was destined to decorate the right side of the altar.

The proposal for the pulpit's position in the cathedral of Orvieto can be complemented by a suggestion as to what may have provoked its commission. The

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<sup>134</sup> Seidel (2003), pp. 127-132.

<sup>135</sup> Further investigation of the baptismal church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia in terms of its rapport with the Comune and the public ceremonies and knighthoods which were performed there, would make an interesting topic for further study. Seidel (2003), p.131.

<sup>136</sup> D. Foote, *Lordship, Reform and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy* (Indiana 2004), p.38.

<sup>137</sup> The pulpits of Sant'Andrea and in the cathedrals of Siena and Pisa were originally located in front of the presbytery, on the right hand side of the nave. They were removed from this location in order to conform with the new liturgical orientation issued at the Council of Trent. E. Carli (1986), pp.12, 16. The temporary wooden structures used for knighthood ceremonies in the Florentine cathedral were located in the same position. M. Seidel (2003), p.129.

<sup>138</sup> Seidel (2003), p.129.

public ceremonial knighthood performed by Ugolino Monaldeschi on the steps of the 'communal' church of Sant'Andrea in 1310 indicates that in Orvieto too there were occasions where a large polygonal pulpit could be put to good use.<sup>139</sup> The Monaldeschi family's choice to use the church of Sant'Andrea for such an important ceremony, in which communal and ecclesiastic authority were so firmly fused and publicly represented, must have irked the canons of the cathedral chapter and may well have influenced the commission of the pulpit drawing (Figs. 149, 150, 151). Cardinal Theodoric's lineage who chose political careers over the ecclesiastic life, must also have been aware of Orvieto's lack of a ceremonial pulpit. Theodoric's nephews Ranieri and Benedetto, and his great nephew Bonifacio, must all have been knighted in Orvieto, as they all served as either Podestà and/or Capitano in early fourteenth-century medieval Comunes.<sup>140</sup> While serving the Tuscan comunes of Florence and Siena, they were likely to have participated in similar knighthood ceremonies.

The great pulpits at the cathedrals of Pisa and Siena, besides being the podiums for solemn readings of the Gospel and the Epistles, were also used as elevated stages to exhibit the city's relics to its populace.<sup>141</sup> In his chronicle the archbishop of Genoa, Jacopo da Varagine wrote that he had personally examined the controversial relics of San Siro and had them exhibited along with their seals and the reliquary containing them «*super magnum pulpitum ecclesie Sancti Laurentij*», in a public demonstration of their saintly integrity in 1293.<sup>142</sup> The great Genoese pulpit may well be the same «*lectorium marmoreum*» which was placed «*in medio chori*» sixty years earlier and was most certainly in the cathedral at the time Orvieto's bishop Francesco (1280-1295) was in Genoa acting as pope Nicholas IV's ambassador in negotiations to free Guglielmo marchese of Monferrato.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>139</sup> W. Valentini, *La insigne collegiata del SS. Bartolomeo e Andrea di Orvieto. Documenti e note* (Orvieto 1920), p.6. Two of the Florentine *capitani del popolo* in 1310 were members of the Monaldeschi family and Ugolino Monaldeschi himself is mentioned in a document issued on 5 June 1338 which nominates him as *cavaliere del popolo*. Fumi (1884), pp.198-199; Waley (1985), p.120.

<sup>140</sup> Ranieri served in Florence as Capitano del Popolo in 1313 and Podestà in 1314 and 1326. Ranieri was also employed by the Comune of Siena as Podestà in 1316-1317. Benedetto was Podestà of Ascoli in 1317 and Gubbio in 1324, Capitano del Popolo in Bologna in 1318 and Ducal Vicar in Florence in 1319 and 1328. Ranieri's son Bonifacio served Florence twice as Podestà in 1344 and 1348, when he also served the city as Capitano del Popolo. Fumi (1884), pp.371-372; Waley (1985), Appendix VIII.

<sup>141</sup> Seidel (2003), pp. 127-128.

<sup>142</sup> C. di Fabio, 'Documenti per il "gran pulpito"', *La cattedrale di Genova nel medioevo secoli VI-XIV*, ed. by C. di Fabio (Milano 1998), p.200; *Jacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, ed. G. Monleone, 3 vols. (Roma 1941), vol.2, pp.406-408.

<sup>143</sup> C. di Fabio (1998), p.200; L. Riccetti, 'Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi e l'avvio del cantiere (1295-1301)', *La cattedrale e la città. Saggi sul Duomo di Firenze*, Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze, ed. T. Verdon and A. Innocenti (Florence 2001), p.197.



The large dimensions of the pulpit planned for the Orvieto cathedral may well be explained by the size of the cathedral's most important reliquary. The relics of the miracle of Bolsena were housed inside the elaborate reliquary of the corporal, signed by the goldsmith Ugolino di Vieri in 1338, which measured 1.39 metres in height, 0.63 metres in width and weighed 400 pounds (Fig. 129).<sup>144</sup> Lifted high up on a pulpit, lit by flickering torches, the gold and silver enamels would have made an impressive sight on feast days such as that of the Corpus Domini.<sup>145</sup> Its shape and weight may also have caused the pulpit's patrons to think it a necessary precaution to rest it on a support while it was being exhibited, rather than have the clerics hold it throughout the ceremony.<sup>146</sup> A support of this type, the reliquary itself and the clerics illuminating it would all have required a certain amount of space up on the platform of the pulpit. Space was what the pulpit of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto lacked, which is probably why in 1310 Ugolino staged the ceremony of knighting his son outdoors, high on the steps leading up to the church (Fig. 155).<sup>147</sup>

According to Calderoni Masetti, the slender polygonal supporting pilasters at the lower level of the drawing are too slight compared to the large surface areas of narrative relief work to warrant a theoretical realisation in marble and are much better adapted to metalwork (Figs. 149, 150, 151).<sup>148</sup> However, drawings illustrating the lost thirteenth-century tombs of Pietro di Vico, constructed in the Dominican church of Santa Maria in Gradi in Viterbo after the death of its occupant in 1268, and that of Cardinal Jean Cholet, who died in 1292, in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Lucien at Beauvais, both show high gothic canopies supported by tall slender polygonal pilasters, richly decorated in their vertical facets, in a manner identical to the polygonal pilasters of the Orvieto cathedral drawing (Figs. 156, 157).<sup>149</sup> Gardner points out that the Windsor

<sup>144</sup> Dal Poggetto (1965), p.1.

<sup>145</sup> A book of accounts from the Opera del Duomo di Siena clearly defines the use of exhibiting relics from the pulpit: «...pergholo grande di duomo...Dove stanno e chierici colle torcie in mano quando si mostrano e glie reliqui». Seidel (2003), p.128; Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena, 717, *Debitori e creditori 1475-93*, fol. 370 deb.

<sup>146</sup> Considerable effort was no deterrent to the religious zeal of the organisers of ceremonies in the Middle Ages. In the cathedral of Pisa in 1161, the body of the hermit Ranieri was placed high up on fra Guglielmo's pulpit during the ceremony in which he was proclaimed patron saint of Pisa. However, such practices certainly highlight the practicality of the large dimensions of the pulpit designed for the Orvieto cathedral. Seidel (2003), p.128.

<sup>147</sup> The pulpit of Sant'Andrea rectangular and is attached to one of the nave pilasters of the church, following the traditional design, with no central axis. Perali claimed the pulpit was decorated with Cosmatesque inspired mosaics and therefore was likely to be romanesque. P. Perali, *Orvieto. Note storiche di topografia e d'arte dalle origini al 1800* (Rome 1919), pp.52, 66.

<sup>148</sup> Calderoni Masetti, p.249.

<sup>149</sup> The drawing of the tomb of Pietro di Vico, a member of the hereditary family of prefects of Rome, is in the Royal Collection at Windsor. The tomb had been moved to the church of San Francesco in

drawing of the canopy of the Viterbo tomb hints at its original mosaic inlay. This use of mosaics extends to the decoration of the polygonal pilasters supporting the canopy and is comparable with the mosaic inlay of the same pilasters on the tomb of Jean Cholet and the drawing belonging to the Orvieto cathedral.<sup>150</sup> The earlier funeral monument of Pietro di Vico has been attributed to the enigmatic gothic sculptor Pietro di Oderisio.<sup>151</sup> It is interesting to note that Cardinal Jean Cholet died in Orvieto in August 1292, where his entrails were once buried in the church of San Francesco.<sup>152</sup> Further afield, Middeldorf Kosegarten has published a series of fourteenth-century ambons remaining from the churches in Cairo, all of which are supported high on slender polygonal pilasters in an uncannily similar manner to the drawing for the pulpit at Orvieto.<sup>153</sup>

In his Arca di San Pietro Martire for the church of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan (1335-1339) Giovanni di Balduccio had already abandoned the polygonal shape of the sarcophagus' supporting pilasters.<sup>154</sup> However, the slender four-sided blocks of travertine are reminiscent of the strong vertical lines characterising the work of art intensioned for the Orvieto cathedral and it is of note that Giovanni di Balduccio was

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Viterbo, where it was severely damaged in the Allied bombardment of 1944. J. Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford 1992), pp.48, 91, figs. 28, 78; J. Adhémar. G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la Collection Gaignères', *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, 84 (1974), p. 83, n. 436.

<sup>150</sup> Both Nicola and Giovanni Pisano used gilt glass to decorate the backgrounds of the reliefwork on their pulpits and also on the Arca di San Domenico. We should also bear in mind the seventeenth century description of Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the Pisan cathedral which describes one of the supporting figures at the time as being painted and polychromatic. It is entirely probable that the Orvieto pulpit too was intended to be coloured. The use of mosaic decoration in the Orvieto drawing should probably be considered as a continuation of a decorative technique already employed by the Pisano family and members of its workshop. M. Seidel (1971), p.12; Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), p.115.

<sup>151</sup> Gardner describes the gothic design of the tomb's canopy as 'revolutionary'. Gardner (Oxford 1992), pp.47-48.

<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately nothing remains of cardinal Jean Cholet's tomb in the church of San Francesco in Orvieto. Gaignière's drawing of the tomb in Beauvais does not show the original silver effigy of the cardinal, which was melted down in 1359 to pay for war damages caused by the English invasion. Gardner (Oxford 1992), pp. 91-92.

<sup>153</sup> The marble ambons with polygonal supporting pilasters published by Middeldorf Kosegarten are: Ambon, St. Barbara (Sitt Barbara), Cairo, Egypt, dating to 1300; Ambon, St. Mercurius (Abû S'-Saifain), Cairo, Egypt, dating to circa 1300; Ambon, St. Marien in Babylon (al-Mu'allaqah), Cairo, Egypt, dating to 1350-1360. Although the polygonal supports are not decorated with the mosaic inlay evident on the Orvieto pulpit drawing, similar mosaics in geometric patterns decorate the balustrade of all three Egyptian ambons. The author points to similarities between these ambons and the large polygonal pulpit of 1260-1268 in the Basilica di San Marco in Venice, which is likely to have been seen by bishop Francesco of Orvieto when he was in Venice as papal legate for Nicholas IV in August 1291. A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, 'Die mittelalterlichen Ambonen aus Marmor in den koptischen Kirchen Alt-Kairos', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27 (2000), pp. 29-81; A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, 'Zur liturgischen Ausstattung von San Marco in Venedig im 13. Jahrhundert. Kanzeln und Altarzubehör', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 29 (2002), pp. 7-77; F. Macchioni, *Storia Civile e Religiosa della Città di Bagnoregio dai tempi antichi sino all'anno 1503* (Viterbo 1956), p. 229.

<sup>154</sup> The Arca di San Pietro Martire in Sant'Eustorgio in Milan is signed and dated by Giovanni di Balduccio. «MAGISTER ÇAONNES BALDUCII DE PISIS / SCULPSIT HANC ARCHIAM / ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXVIII.» E. Carli, 'Giovanni di Balduccio a Milano', *La nuova città dal Comune alla Signoria*, ed. by C. Bertelli (Milan 1989), p.83.

also a sculptor of pulpits.<sup>155</sup> The decorative mosaic inlay made so popular in central Italy by Arnolfo di Cambio evidently did not appeal to the Milanese towards the middle of the fourteenth century and Giovanni chose to decorate his pilasters with patterns in sculpted relief. Further south however, Tino da Camaino made extensive use of mosaic decoration on the Angevin tombs in Naples (Fig. 158).<sup>156</sup> The sculptor's early modest inclusion of bare polygonal supporting pilasters in the tripartite gothic niches above the sarcophagus on the Tomb of cardinal Petroni (d. 1314) in the cathedral of Siena, was amplified in the tomb of Mary of Valois (1331-1337) in the church of Santa Chiara in Naples, where the tomb canopy is supported by four elongated polygonal pilasters; all decorated with lavish mosaic inlay (Figs. 135, 159).<sup>157</sup> Examples of slender polygonal pilasters can also be found employed in architectural structures of larger dimensions during the late thirteenth century. The most pertinent examples to the argument at hand are those located in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (Fig. 160). A consistent number of elegant octagonal pilasters were used in the entrance courtyard, located in the Comunal Palace's eastern wing, built for the Podestà between 1298 and 1310.<sup>158</sup> The motif is repeated in another prominent position on the roof-top loggia of the Comune, which faces the opposite direction from the city's piazza and dominates the surrounding countryside.<sup>159</sup> Clearly, the fine polygonal pilasters decorated with mosaic inlay in the Orvieto drawing were as likely to have been intended for execution in metallic micro architecture as they were to have been sculpted in stone and were common elements in

<sup>155</sup> Fiderer Moskowitz also points out that both the Orvieto pulpit drawing and Giovanni di Balduccio's Arca di San Pietro Martire feature representations of the celestial hierarchy of angels. Giovanni di Balduccio's pulpit, once in the Dominican church of Santa Maria del Prato in San Casciano Val di Pesa and now in the Misericordia in the same Florentine hill-top town, is dated to the late 1330s and therefore must have been sculpted almost contemporaneously to his work on the Arca di San Pietro Martire. Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), pp.118, 121.

<sup>156</sup> The remaining Neopolitan Angevin tombs sculpted by Tino di Camaino are: the Tomb of Catherine of Austria in the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, 1324-1325; The Tomb of Maria of Hungary in the Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina, 1325-1326; the Tomb of Charles of Anjou, Duke of Calabria in the Church of Santa Chiara, 1332-1333 and the Tomb of Maria of Valois also in Santa Chiara, 1333. G. Kreytenberg, *Die Werke von Tino di Camaino*, Liebieghaus Monographie, Band 11 (Frankfurt am Main 1987), pp.24-29.

<sup>157</sup> J. Gardner (1992), pp.111-112, figs.116-119; C. King, 'Effigies: human and divine', in *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400. Case Studies*, ed. D. Norman (New Haven 1995), p.113.

<sup>158</sup> Plans to build the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena were established by 1287 and building began in 1297. By 1298 the central tower was completed to the first floor. The eastern (or left hand wing), built to house the Podestà, was under construction in the early fourteenth century. The west wing (right hand side of the tower) was completed by 1310. Entrance to the courtyard with the octagonal pilasters is gained from Piazza del Campo and the courtyard is situated on the east side of the central tower block. C. Cunningham, 'For the honour and beauty of the city: the design of town halls', in *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400. Case Studies*, ed. by D. Norman, 2 vols. (New Haven 1995), pp.34-35.

<sup>159</sup> The three octagonal pilasters on the loggia were part of the early building project, which took place between 1297 and 1310. C. Cunningham (1995), p.39.

architectural designs drawn up by artists with strong connections to the Sienese school at any time between the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>160</sup>

When the drawing is examined at face value, a logical analysis concludes that it was indeed a pulpit proposal (Figs. 149, 150, 151). The monument's eventual shape however, remains problematic. Degenhardt and Schmitt suggest a freestanding pentagon with a block of steps leading up to one side. Entrance to the steps would have been through the trefoil arch shown on the parchment fragment in Berlin. Such an entrance would necessitate an unusually high pulpit which would place the speaker and the narrative episodes at a remarkable distance from their audience. The two levels of narrative illustrating the Marriage of the Virgin and the Annunciation (?) and Nativity would have partially hidden one side of the steps leading up to the pulpit's pentagonal platform. A corresponding narrative panel under the Crucifixion would theoretically have covered the other side of the entrance. Given the fact that there are no late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century precedents for a pentagonal pulpit, the additional problems of height and a hypothetically lost narrative scene, their suggested plan is at best improbable. Calderoni Masetti suggests both a hexagonal and an octagonal structure. Despite the Pisano precedents in the Baptistery of Pisa and the church of S. Andrea in Pistoia for hexagonal structures, the drawing's eight supporting pilasters logically point to an octagonal pulpit similar to Nicola Pisano's Sienese model, with an entrance on the eighth undrawn side which would have been situated between the Annunciation panels and the panel illustrating the Deposition from the Cross. The decision to augment the number of scenes to two every side would seem to be in line with Giovanni Pisano's second pulpit for the Pisa cathedral, for which he increased the scenes to nine, ambitiously placing them on curved surfaces to form a circular pulpit.<sup>161</sup> With all probability the structure was octagonal. The single larger scene portraying the

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<sup>160</sup> Calderoni Masetti also comments that the scene of the Last Supper in the Orvieto drawings was not easily adapted to marble relief work and was therefore more likely to have been designed to be executed in enamel. I find this rather an odd suggestion, especially when a scene generally taken to represent the Last Supper, is represented with apparent ease in relief sculpture on the pulpit of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, which was originally built c. 1100 and then reconstructed c.1200 after having been partially destroyed by a fire in 1196. At least two other representations of the scene occur on Romanesque pulpits in Tuscany. The Pulpit in the Cathedral of Volterra sculpted around 1160-1170 by a sculptor close in style to Guglielmo, responsible for the Romanesque Pisan Pulpit now in Cagliari, included a sculpted relief scene of The Last Supper. As did the Pulpit of the Cathedral of Pistoia, sculpted by Guglielmo himself and dismantled in 1559-1560, now located in the cathedral crypt. G. Tigler, *Toscana Romanica* (Milan 2006), pp.85-86, 125, 129. Fiderer Moskowitz (2005), p.19; Calderoni Masetti (1992), p.249.

<sup>161</sup> A. Caleca, *La dotta mano: il Battistero di Pisa* (Bergamo 1991); M.L. Testi Cristiani, *Nicola Pisano, architetto, scultore. Dalle origine al pulpito del Battistero di Pisa* (Pisa 1987); E. Carli, *Giovanni Pisano* (Pisa 1977); M. Seidel, *Il pulpito di Nicola Pisano nel Duomo di Siena* (Siena 1971).

Marriage of the Virgin at a lower level is in keeping with its placement in the cathedral of Orvieto which was dedicated to the Virgin. As in the façade iconography, the role of the Virgin as the mother of Christ is stressed. The isolated position of her marriage on a lower level of the pulpit, below the supernatural episodes involving Christ, accentuates her human origins – the observing public would have easily identified with a marriage scene. Its larger dimensions, with respect to the upper narrative frieze, served to valorise this human role that she played in the salvation of humanity.

### The Bishop's Chair

The wooden choir in the cathedral of Orvieto is finely decorated with marquetry and was produced by Sienese masters between 1330 and 1370 (Fig. 221).<sup>162</sup> The large wooden tympanum of the Coronation of the Virgin in which the figures of Christ and the Madonna are surrounded by a celestial choir of angels was probably projected while the Sienese Lorenzo Maitani was *capomaestro dell'Opera*, 1310-1330.<sup>163</sup> Documentation regarding wood work in the choir begins in January 1330.<sup>164</sup> The gable was once located on the canopy above the bishop's chair in the apse of the cathedral.<sup>165</sup> The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by a celestial choir of angels was not used by either Jacopo Torriti in his late thirteenth-century mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome or by Duccio di Buoninsegna in the stained glass version of the same subject documented from 1287 to 1288.<sup>166</sup> It is also curious to note

<sup>162</sup> Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.69.

<sup>163</sup> This representation of the Coronation of the Virgin executed in marquetry is relatively early if it was actually ideated during the presence of Lorenzo Maitani in Orvieto. It is preceded by the representations of the same subject in the large stained glass window by Duccio di Buoninsegna for the Sienese cathedral (documented 1287-1288); a missing panel from the Maestà of 1311 by the same artist; Jacopo Torriti's apse mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore commissioned by pope Nicholas IV; an early gable fragment of the subject by Guido di Siena possibly of Umbrian origin and now in the Courtauld Institute collection; an icon mentioned in the 1311 Perugian inventory of the papal treasure possibly of Venetian provenance; on the preparatory drawing for the façade of the Sienese Baptistery executed prior to 1317 and an unfinished fresco by Simone Martini recorded by Lorenzo Ghiberti on the Porta Romana in Siena. G. Coor-Achenbach, 'The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin', *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (October 1957), p.330; A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, 'Simone Martini e la scultura senese contemporanea', *Simone Martini. Atti del Convegno. Siena 27-29 marzo 1985*, ed. by L. Bellosi (Florence 1988), pp.195-196; Martindale (1988), pp.43, 211; J. Gardner, 'The Artistic Patronage of Boniface VIII. The Perugian Inventory of the Papal Treasure of 1311', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 34, 2001-2002 (2004), pp.74-76; L. Bellosi, 'Duccio di Buoninsegna. San Giovanni Evangelista, Incoronazione della Vergine, San Matteo; San Bartolommeo, Sant'Ansano, Assunzione della Vergine, San Crescenzo, San Savino; San Luca, Seppellimento della Vergine, San Marco', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, ed. by A. Bagnoli, R. Bartolini, L. Bellosi, M. Laclotte (Milan 2003), pp.166-170; Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.69.

<sup>164</sup> Fumi (1891, 2002), p. 263; Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.69.

<sup>165</sup> Fumi (1891, 2002), p.272 and photograph 1.

<sup>166</sup> Bellosi (2003), pp.166-170; J. Gardner, 'Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of S. Maria Maggiore', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36 (1973), pp.2-4, 8.

the pointed crown which Christ places on the head of the Virgin on the gable in Orvieto (Fig. 222).

Both the celestial choir and the pointed crown of the Virgin can be found in the numerous Florentine versions of the subject dating to the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>167</sup> Nardo di Cione's Coronation of the Virgin is the first Florentine triptych reproducing the imperial crown and angel musicians in Orvieto (Fig. 223). Unfortunately there are no records of the original location of the altarpiece, which was produced early in the artist's career.<sup>168</sup> The San Pier Maggiore Altarpiece produced by Nardo's younger brother Jacopo di Cione was probably inspired by Nardo's Coronation of the Virgin now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 224).<sup>169</sup> The polyptych in the National Gallery of London was completed by 1371 and was one of the largest and most prestigious Florentine commissions of its time.<sup>170</sup> Its central panel illustrates Christ crowning the Virgin with the same particular pointed crown used by the Sienese sculptor Tino di Camaino to dress the Emperor Henry VII on his funeral monument in Pisa of 1315 and subsequently in the marquetry work in the cathedral at Orvieto (Fig. 222).<sup>171</sup> At the foot of the elaborately canopied Gothic throne, a group of ten angels accompany the event singing or playing musical instruments. Although no remaining documents in Orvieto specifically refer to either Nardo or Jacopo di Cione, their brother

<sup>167</sup> Three examples of this iconography can be found concentrated in London collections. The central panel from a polyptych by Nardo di Cione in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London was cut at the edges and the lower part, which originally contained angels playing musical instruments has been lost. The panel has been paired with two cut down panels portraying saints from the Alte Pinakothek in Munich and was probably executed at the beginning of the artists career towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The National Gallery in London holds the San Pier Maggiore Altarpiece of 1370-1371 by Jacopo di Cione whose central panel must have resembled the cut down central panel produced by his brother Nardo. The triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin by Lorenzo Monaco of c. 1414 from the church of San Benedetto fuori Porta a Pinti Florence, which is now held in the National Gallery of London, also includes the same iconography first seen in the Orvieto cathedral choir of the angel choir at the base of the throne and the Virgin being crowned with the imperial tiara. R. Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting. The Fourteenth Century. Nardo di Cione*, section IV, Vol.2 (Glückstadt 1960), pp.IV, 13-16; R. Offner and K.Steinweg, *Corpus of Florentine Painting. The Fourteenth Century. Jacopo di Cione*, section IV, Vol.3 (Glückstadt 1965), pp.35-45; *Giotto to Dürer. Early Renaissance Painting in The National Gallery*, ed. by J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, D. Gordon and N. Penny (Milan 1991), pp.240-241.

<sup>168</sup> Nardo alongside his brother Andrea was one of the most influential Florentine painters of the second half of the fourteenth century. He is first named in the Arte de' Medici, Speziali e Merciai in 1343 and his last will and testament was written up on 21 May 1365. Offner suggests that the Munich-London Triptych was produced early in his painting career. Offner (1960), pp.IV, IX-X, 3-4.

<sup>169</sup> Offner writes: "Such familiar Florentine masters as Jacopo di Cione, Nardo's younger brother, ...are almost exclusively direct artistic descendants of Nardo." Offner (1960), p.X.

<sup>170</sup> J. Dunkerton et al (1991), pp.232-235.

<sup>171</sup> That it was not uncommon for fourteenth-century Sienese artists to use sculpture as iconographical models is demonstrated by Simone Martini's miniature frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgil, where the poet is represented in a supine position and his commentator Servius draws back a curtain, just as an angel or a deacon would do in contemporary tombs sculpted by Tino di Camaino. Gardner (1989), p.489; G. Kreytenberg, 'Tino di Camaino e Simone Martini', *Simone Martini. Atti del Convegno. Siena 27-29 marzo 1985*, ed. by L. Bellosi (Florence 1988), pp.203, 205.

Andrea di Cione (Andrea Orcagna) was called to Orvieto by the Opera del Duomo at the beginning of 1359 and became *capomaestro* of the Opera in 1360. He was accompanied by another brother Matteo di Cione, who received payment for work at the cathedral in the same year.<sup>172</sup> Could the Cione brother's workshop have been responsible for transporting the iconography from Orvieto to Florence?

An earlier and geographically closer example of the Virgin being crowned with the imperial tiara does exist in the Florentine artist Puccio Capanna's fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the third bay from the east on the south wall of the nave of the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi, which dates to the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>173</sup> However, the second iconographic component of the angel choir, which characterises the Coronation of the Virgin in the gable of the choir in Orvieto is not present in this earlier work.<sup>174</sup> No earlier examples of this particular combination of the Virgin's imperial tiara and the angel choir have survived in Italian representations of the Coronation of the Virgin. Is it possible that the iconography originated in the preparatory drawings made for the wooden choir of the Orvieto cathedral while Lorenzo Maitani was *capomaestro dell'Opera* prior to 1330? Music was of particular importance to Orvieto, a city where singing Lauds became popular early on in the history of its confraternities.<sup>175</sup> The unusual appearance of the inscription, which probably originated from a *Laude*, tentatively written in Latin across a capital in the nave of the city cathedral attests to the omnipresence of music as an extensive social phenomenon in late Medieval Orvieto.<sup>176</sup> An earlier representation of the Coronation of the Virgin does

<sup>172</sup> Fumi (1891, 2002), pp. 105, 121-122, doc.XLII, XLIII.

<sup>173</sup> R.P. Novello, 'Navata. Parete meridionale. Terza campata da est. Tribuna di san Stanislao. Puccio Capanna (doc. prima metà del sec. XIV). *L'incoronazione della Vergine* (quinto decennio del sec. XIV)', *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi, Mirabilia Italiae, Testi*, ed. by S. Settis (Modena 2002), pp.334-337.

<sup>174</sup> The same iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin using an imperial tiara, but without including the angel choir can be found in a manuscript illumination attributed to the Maestro del Trittico Beffi from a Tuscan antiphonary dating to the end of the fourteenth century, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Verdier (1980), pp.160-161, n.28, fig.82.

<sup>175</sup> An inventory from the fraternity of Santa Maria, a group which met in the church of San Francesco from before 1261 until 1323, lists «*duo libricioli duo volume in ne' quali sonno scripte le laude*» is recorded in Codex V.E. 528 of the National Library in Rome. This codex is the most comprehensive collection of Orvietan dramatic texts from different periods prior to when they were copied by a member of the *disciplinati di San Francesco*, Tramo di Lonardo in 1405, who compiled the codex. The three earliest texts in the volume are not plays, but *laude*. Henderson (1990), p.288; 'Sacre Rappresentazioni per le fraterne d'Orvieto nel Codice Vittorio Emanuele 528', *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, Appendix 5 (1916), pp. 1-140.

<sup>176</sup> The mix of Latin and Volgare in which the verse is written and its obscure position leads us to assume that text was possibly placed on the capital by the sculptor responsible for that particular capital, and perhaps responsible for the structure at that moment. The capital was produced in the time span 1290 – 1308, before Lorenzo Maitani became *capomaestro* of the Opera del Duomo and it has been suggested that it was sculpted by Ramo di Paganello during the bishopric of the Franciscan Guido Farnese (1302-1328). A. Franci, 'Guido Farnese, Ramo di Paganello e il capitello dell'Ave Maria nel Duomo di Orvieto', *Arte Cristiana*, 89 (2001), pp.5-18.

survive in Orvieto in the highest gable of the first preparatory drawing for the cathedral façade, however there is no angel choir in this drawing and neither is the Virgin wearing an imperial crown (Fig. 39).

Given the artist's reputation as a creative compositional innovator, his Sienese origins and the provenance of at least three polyptychs in Orvieto from his workshop, the fact that Simone Martini was recorded by Ghiberti as being the author of an unfinished "Coronation" on the Porta Romana in Siena should perhaps be mentioned.<sup>177</sup> Ghiberti recorded the Coronation as being only a drawing in *cinabrese*, and in 1625-1626 Fabio Chigi noted a painting 'sopra porta romana' which had been started by an unknown painter, but completed and signed by Sano di Pietro. Sano di Pietro may well have been painting over Simone's original sinopia. If so, did he actually use the drawing already present as his guideline? Or did he paint his own original?<sup>178</sup> Fabio Chigi did not give the subject of the later painting, but he did copy down the inscription it bore which seems to indicate that Sano kept to the original subject of Simone's Coronation of the Virgin.<sup>179</sup>

*«O regina patris Summi dignata corona  
Perpetuo Senam respice virgo tuam»<sup>180</sup>*

Unfortunately, both Ghiberti and Chigi's descriptions give very little specific information about the composition. However, both authors recorded a Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints, signed and dated by Simone Martini, over the portal of the Opera del Duomo in Siena.<sup>181</sup> The Virgin and Child are described as being portrayed in a "circular residence" under a canopy with three angels playing musical instruments on either side of it.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Simone Martini was the first artist to represent the Dominican Saint Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscan Saint Louis of Toulouse and the Augustinian Agostino Novello, who was revered as a saint by the Sienese. He was also the first artist to paint the life cycle of Saint Martin of Tours in Italy and a secular portrait of a woman sitter since antiquity. Gardner (1989), p.487; Martindale (1988), pp.7-8, 211.

<sup>178</sup> Another Coronation of the Virgin painted by Sano di Pietro and Domenico di Bartolo in the Sala di Biccherna of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in 1445 includes neither angels playing instruments nor the Virgin being crowned by the imperial crown. E. Carter Southard, 'Reflections on the documented work by Simone Martini in the Palazzo Pubblico', *Simone Martini. Atti del convegno. Siena 27-29 marzo 1985*, ed. by L. Bellosi (Florence 1988), p.105

<sup>179</sup> Gardner (1989), p.211.

<sup>180</sup> Martindale (1988), p.211; P. Bacci, 'L'elenco delle pitture, sculture e architetture di Siena compilato nel 1625-6 da Mons. Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, NS, x (1939), p.328.

<sup>181</sup> The fresco was destroyed by an earthquake in 1798. Chigi recorded the inscription as *«Simon da Siena 1330»*. Della Valle could no longer make out Simone's name and read the date as 1335. Martindale (1988), p.202; G. Della Valle, *Lettere sanesi sopra le belle arti*, 3 vols. (Venice 1782), II, p.98; Bacci (1939), p.332.

<sup>182</sup> Martindale (1988), p.202.



Apart from the inevitable comparison between Maitani's Virgin and Child Enthroned executed in marble and bronze for the main portal of the western façade of the cathedral at Orvieto, it is interesting to note that Simone Martini chose to surround the throne with an angelic choir and saints, much the same as the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin executed by Sienese artists on the canopy of the throne above the bishop's chair for the cathedral in Orvieto (Figs. 38, 40, 221, 222). Another Coronation of the Virgin, which was indirectly accompanied by angels playing musical instruments, did originate from Simone Martini's workshop. The small panel of the Assumption in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich is attributed to Simone's brother-in-law Lippo Memmi and is thought to be a late work of the artist (Fig. 225).<sup>183</sup> On the main panel the seated Virgin is accompanied up to heaven by a circle of angels playing pipes, horns, lutes and drums among other instruments. In the pinnacle of the gable a small Coronation of the Virgin is represented. The fresco recorded above the portal of the Opera del Duomo in Siena tells us that angel musicians were indeed a part of Simone Martini's repertoire by the 1330s. In the 1340s Lippo Memmi had practically combined the two iconographic motifs of the angel choir in the Coronation scene. Whether Simone had actually used this iconography prior to his brother-in-law is impossible to say, but it certainly seems likely that it originated in his workshop which brings us back to the problem of who exactly provided the Sienese marquetry craftsmen with the preparatory drawing for the Coronation of the Virgin which decorates the gable above the bishop's chair in the choir of the cathedral of Orvieto (Figs. 221, 222).

Simone Martini was likely to have been present in Orvieto at some stage during the execution of his altarpiece for Trasmondo Monaldeschi, bishop of Sovana for the church of San Domenico in Orvieto (Fig. 226).<sup>184</sup> The polyptych includes a panel portraying Saint Mary Magdalen and a "vividly characterised" portrayal of its donor Trasmondo Monaldeschi, which leads me to assume that his portrait was painted by a gifted member of Simone's workshop familiar with the bishop's appearance - if not by

<sup>183</sup> The panel measures 72.5 x 32.5 cm and is dated to after 1345 by Polzer. J. Polzer, 'Symon Martini et Lippus Memmi me pinzerunt', *Simone Martini, Atti del Convegno, Siena 27-29 March 1985*, ed. by L. Bellosi (Florence 1988), p.170.

<sup>184</sup> The altar of San Domenico is signed and dated along the base of the central panel: «(SYM)ON DE SENIS ME PINXIT AN(NO) D(OMINI) MCCCXX...». Generally the fragmented date is read 1320, but has been expanded to 1321 or 1322. Hueck and Polzer claim that the Dominican polyptych in Orvieto is to advanced stylistically to be dated so close to the Dominican polyptych in Pisa, and propose a reading of the date as MCCCXXIV. Martindale (1988), pp.195-196; I. Hueck, 'Simone attorno al 1320', *Simone Martini. Atti del Convegno, 27-29 March 1985*, ed. by L. Bellosi (Florence 1985), p.53; Cannon (1982), p.69 J. Polzer, 'A contribution to the early chronology of Lippo Memmi', *La pittura del XIV e XV secolo: il contributo dell'analisi tecnica alla storia dell'arte*, Atti del XXIV Congresso S.I.H.A. 10-18 September 1979, ed. by H. Van Os (Bologna 1983), pp.238, 241 n.12.

Simone himself - as the bishop certainly did not travel to Siena for a portrait sitting.<sup>185</sup> At the same time, the obituary list in Orvieto highlights the late medieval concept of autographed art, although the polyptych is signed by Simone, there is absolutely no proof of authentic authorship.<sup>186</sup> The document boasts of the altarpiece Trasmondo Monaldeschi, Bishop of Sovana had painted for the altar of the *cappella maggiore* in San Domenico and yet makes no mention whatsoever of the artist who produced it (Fig. 23).<sup>187</sup>

The panel of the Magdalen and donor is one of five remaining panels from the high altar of the church of San Domenico (Fig. 226). The remaining four portrayed busts are of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Dominic and the Virgin and Child. The saints Peter and Paul are regularly portrayed in Dominican and Franciscan polyptychs, as these exempt mendicant orders both depended directly on the papacy.<sup>188</sup> Both apostles had also appeared to the founder of the Dominican order to give him the book and the staff he then used to guide his order. Their inclusion was also likely to have been an expression of papal support on the part of Bishop Monaldeschi.<sup>189</sup> The obituary list highlights Trasmondo's personal devotion to Saint Mary Magdalen, who he prayed to on a daily basis: «...suam autem habuit in matronam et interventricem apud Deum beatam Mariam Magdalenam, cuius diem affectu et effectu venerabatur quam plurimum». <sup>190</sup> Saint Dominic was the founding saint of the Dominican order, of which the donor was a member, and titular saint to the church for which the polyptych was commissioned. The panels which once flanked Saint Paul on the Virgin's left hand side of the Dominican polyptych are now missing. Saint Thomas Aquinas, who had spent four years as a lector at the Dominican convent in Orvieto, probably balanced the panel of Saint Dominic at the right of the Virgin.<sup>191</sup> The position of Saint Thomas Aquinas

<sup>185</sup> Polzer (1988), p.170.

<sup>186</sup> Parts of the Dominican polyptych in Orvieto have been attributed to the hand of Lippo Memmi, Simone's brother-in-law who signed the Madonna della Misericordia in the Chapel of the Holy Corporal in the cathedral of Orvieto. Cannon (1982), p.85; M.C. Gozzoli, *L'opera completa di Simone Martini* (Milan 1970), p.89.

<sup>187</sup> «...tabulam etiam pingi fecit pro altari maioris capelle, expendens in ipsam flor. C...». Cannon (1982), p.84.

<sup>188</sup> J. Gardner, 'Giotto in America (and elsewhere)', *Italian Panel paintings of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. by V. Schmidt, Studies in History of Art, 61 (Washington 2002), pp.161-181.

<sup>189</sup> Cannon (1982), pp.79, 84; Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, ed. by H. C. Scheeben, MOPH, XVI (1935), p.304.

<sup>190</sup> Cannon (1982), p.84; Jean Mactei Caccia, *Chronique du Couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto*, ed. A. M. Viel and P. M. Girardin (Rome/Viterbo 1907), pp.108-109.

<sup>191</sup> Trasmondo Monaldeschi had studied in Bologna and Paris and like Thomas had occupied the position of lector at the Dominican convent in Orvieto. In Pisa the position opposite Saint Dominic on the Dominican polyptych of Santa Caterina by Simone Martini is Saint Peter Martyr. Certainly the Pisan precedent means that we cannot rule out the possibility that the same saint was portrayed on one of the

beside Saint Paul is hinted at by the packet of letters entitled *Ad Romanus* in place of the more common book the apostle holds in his hands in Simone's polyptych executed in the same period for the Servite church in the same city (Figs. 226, 227).<sup>192</sup> Thomas Aquinas preferred the writing of Saint Paul to all other books in the New Testament and wrote commentaries on the apostle's epistles.<sup>193</sup> It should not be forgotten that the Virgin, the apostles Peter and Paul, Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Thomas Aquinas, who all appear in this polyptych, were protector saints of the city of Orvieto, alongside Saint Bernard the Confessor, Saint Lucy Virgin and Martyr and Saint Faustino.<sup>194</sup> The panel corresponding to that of the Magdalen may well have represented Saint Catherine of Alexandria, who occupies the same position next to the Virgin and Child in Simone Martini's polyptych executed for the Servite church.<sup>195</sup>

Unlike the remains of Simone's Dominican and Franciscan polyptychs, the Orvietan five-panelled polyptych now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, appears to have survived in one whole piece (Fig. 227).<sup>196</sup> Its provenance from the Servite church in Orvieto has become irrefutable since the discovery of a series of letters regarding its proposed sale to some Chilean diplomats in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>197</sup> The central panel depicts the Virgin holding a flower in her right hand and the Christ child in her left. To her right are situated panels of saints Paul and Lucy, patron saints of Orvieto and in corresponding positions to the left are Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint John the Baptist. Saint John gestures to the iconographic programme in the gables above him. Directly above the Virgin and Child,

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missing panels from the Dominican convent in Orvieto, however as Cannon points out, unlike Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Peter Martyr had no special connections with the city of Orvieto. Cannon (1982), p.87.

<sup>192</sup> The same rapport between saints Paul and Thomas Aquinas is illustrated in Simone Martini's Dominican polyptych for the Church of Santa Caterina in Pisa. In Pisa Saint Thomas Aquinas appears in the predella directly below Saint Paul in the gallery. In both Dominican commissions Saint Paul holds the letters entitled *Ad Romanos* rather than his usual book. Cannon (1982), p.72.

<sup>193</sup> Cannon (1982), p.72.

<sup>194</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.132, n.1.

<sup>195</sup> It has been suggested that the five remaining panels from Santa Maria dei Servi in Orvieto and now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston are missing two panels of Saint Paul (to balance Saint Peter) and Saint John the Evangelist (to balance Saint John the Baptist). If this is the case, the seven panel polyptych would have corresponded in type to the polyptych in San Domenico. Martindale (1988), pp.186-187.

<sup>196</sup> The Servite polyptych was possibly the first altarpiece produced in Orvieto according to Hueck, who suggests a date of 1321-1322. Hueck (1985), p.54.

<sup>197</sup> The letters refer to Simone's altarpiece of five panels as being sold by the Servite community in desperate need of funds. The final letter of the series dating from 28 June 1842 to 5 July 1851 itemises and names the saints painted on each of the five panels. The polyptych was in the sacristy of the Servite church since at least 1671 prior to its proposed sale and was probably originally commissioned for the same church. R.M. Fagioli, 'La Chiesa e il Convento di S. Maria dei Servi di Orvieto', *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, VII (1955/1956), pp.31-64; B. Fredericksen, 'Documents for the Servite origin of Simone Martini's Orvieto polyptych', *Burlington Magazine*, 128 (1986), pp.592-597.

Christ the Redeemer, in the Judgement position with his right hand raised and his left lowered, shows the wounds left by his crucifixion. At his sides two angels hold the instruments of the passion, while the angels in the outermost gables blow the trumpets of Judgement Day.

The Franciscans also seem to have commissioned an altarpiece from Simone Martini (Fig. 228). Unfortunately, all that remains is its central panel illustrating the Virgin and Child, with the Redeemer flanked by two angels in the gable above.<sup>198</sup> The general appearance of this one panel, with its tripartite gable and numerous inscriptions, indicates that this was probably the most complex of Simone's three Orvietan polyptychs. The artist's intellectual capacity for innovation is immediately made evident by his novel use of the tripartite gable. Its appearance over the central panel and other later triptychs produced by the Sienese school indicate that the Madonna and Child in Orvieto once formed part of a polyptych.<sup>199</sup> Lonjon has suggested two models, both with a total of seven panels, which incorporate Simone Martini's Martyr Saint, now in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and two cut down panels of Saint Catherine and Saint Lucy from the Berenson Collection in Florence (Fig. 229).<sup>200</sup> Also included are the four medallions by Simone Martini of the Prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jacob and King David now in the Musée du Petit Palais in Avignon, which remain from the twelve original medallions situated above the large panels of saints in the polyptych (Fig. 230). These medallions occupy positions similar to the two Thrones in the roundels at the sides of the central panel of the Madonna and Child in the panel in Orvieto.<sup>201</sup> The author suggests that the missing panels once portrayed busts of Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Louis of Toulouse, directly flanking the Virgin and Saint Clare, who would

<sup>198</sup> Hueck suggests a date of circa 1323 for this altarpiece. Hueck (1985), p.54.

<sup>199</sup> Simone appears to have developed Duccio di Buoninsegna's earlier model used for his Retable no. 47, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena. Later polyptychs from the second half of the fourteenth century which may have used Simone's tripartite gable scheme as a model include Luca di Tommé's retable in the Museo Civico at Lucignano, located in the southern part of the Sienese State; The Mystical Marriage of the Virgin by Jacopo Mino del Pellicciaio, n. 145 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Siena; Bartolo di Fredi's triptych of the Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels of c. 1366 in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia and the altarpiece by Paolo di Giovanni Fei of the Birth of the Virgin from the end of the fourteenth century in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena. None of these altarpieces demonstrate the intellectual complexities apparent in the partial remains of Simone Martini's iconographic programme which once made up the Orvieto Franciscan Polyptych. J. Brink, 'Simone Martini's *St. Catherine of Alexandria*: An Orvietan Altarpiece and the Mystical Theology of St. Bonaventure', *National Gallery of Canada Annual Bulletin*, 3 (1980), pp.43, 54, n.12; M. Lonjon, 'Quatre médaillons de Simone Martini. La reconstitution du retable de l'église San Francesco à Orvieto', *La Revue du Louvre*, 3 (1983), pp.206-207.

<sup>200</sup> These panels portraying Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Lucy are both attributed to the Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna. Lonjon (1983), pp.204, 208-209.

<sup>201</sup> The same position as the roundels of Augustinian Hermits which flank the central panel of Simone Martini's panel painting of Beato Agostino Novello in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Siena. Lonjon (1983), pp.199-202.

correspond to the panel of Saint Catherine from the Berenson collection. Each of the main panels would have been crowned by angels representing the classes of angels not already shown in the Orvieto panel.<sup>202</sup> Certainly if the polyptych was indeed originally located in the Franciscan church in Orvieto, saints Francis and Louis of Toulouse were highly likely to have been included. However, if the panel of the Virgin and Child in Orvieto was once flanked by that of Saint Catherine now in Ottawa and the four roundels of Prophets from Avignon – all of superior quality and attributed to the hand of Simone Martini himself – it appears unlikely to me that the master painter would have allowed the larger panels to have been completed by his pupils, preferring to work on the less evident smaller medallions of the prophets himself.

### The Porta del Vescovado

The cathedral at Orvieto has three side entrances: the *porta del vescovado*, the *porta postierla* and the *porta della canonica*.<sup>203</sup> The most interesting portal is also the oldest and is located on the southern side of the cathedral nave, facing the papal palaces (Fig. 69). The sculpted stone decoration on the *porta del Vescovado* includes flanking pilasters decorated with sculpted chevron patterns, zigzag designs, raised diaper pattern and stylised acanthus (Fig. 161).<sup>204</sup> Above the architrave squared off foliage reliefs with faces at their centre are reminiscent of the sculpted reliefs of c.1272 sculpted by Nicola Pisano's assistants Lapo, Donato and Goro, which once decorated the low presbytery wall cordoning off the high altar from the general public in the Sienese cathedral.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>202</sup> The Orvieto panel shows Thrones in the roundels and a Cherub and a Seraph flank the figure of God the Father in the tripartite gable. All of the angels are identified with inscriptions. Brink (1980), p.46.

<sup>203</sup> The *porta del vescovado* on the south side of the cathedral predates the foundation ceremony of the cathedral in 1290. The second portal to be opened is situated between the last two chapels on the north side of the cathedral is known as the *porta del Corporale* (or *porta Postierla* or *porta del Vignarco*). This entrance also precedes the foundation ceremony of the cathedral. Its name derives from local legend which records it as the entrance through which the relic of the corporal first entered the cathedral of Santa Maria in Episcopatu in 1263. The opening remained blocked up from 1559 until the restoration of the cathedral in 1877-1891. The sculptural decoration of the reopened portal dates to the nineteenth century. The shape of the door and lunette above it however resemble the lateral entrances on the facade and Bonelli dates it to the same period (c. 1310). The final *porta di Canonica* was the last portal to be built and probably was added to the north side of the building around forty years after the *porta del Corporale*. The Virgin and child enthroned, painted in the lunette above the door were executed by the Orvietan artist Andrea di Giovanni in 1412. Bonelli (2003), pp.224-226; Fumi (2002), pp.439-443.

<sup>204</sup> Fumi emphasises the northern style of these decorations by naming the patterns in French. Apart from their slenderness, the columns flanking the south door could rival the decorative style of Chichester Cathedral in England and use a simpler version of the same relief diaper pattern which decorates the spandrels in the naves of Westminster and Hereford cathedrals. The pattern was used to decorated Westminster in the late 1240's and 1250's. It was used in Hereford on areas of the cathedral predating 1268. Fumi (2002), p.439; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (Yale University Press 1995), pp.26-27, 45.

<sup>205</sup> These reliefs are now held in the Museo dell'Opera of Siena and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. C. Gnudi, *Nicola, Arnolfo e Lapo: l'Arca di S. Domenico in Bologna* (Firenze 1948).

Perhaps the most surprising element of the ensemble however is the figurative bronze architrave above the door, representing Christ the Redeemer surrounded by his Apostles (Fig. 69).<sup>206</sup> The base of Christ's throne bears the signature of the artist: «*Rubeu(s) fec(it) h(oc) op(us)*» and the abbreviated names of the Apostles are written above their heads. Saints Peter and Paul flank Christ, carrying their attributes of the keys and the sword. The remaining ten apostles all carry a generic scroll or a book. This generic representation of all the apostles with the exception of Peter and Paul is repeated in the fresco cycle attributed to the international workshop directed by a northern master in the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi, where the twelve apostles are divided between the niches of two triforium in the south transept.<sup>207</sup> The Assisi frescoes are the closest comparative artwork in terms of geography, collocation, style and subject matter to the Orvieto architrave. The master painter in Assisi finished only six of the apostles in the northern triforium before unknown causes seem to have interrupted his work.<sup>208</sup>

The international taste which pervades the Porta del Vescovado is not surprising, considering its location and consequently, the eminent characters who were destined to step through it. Located on the south side of the cathedral, the porta del Vescovado was the most convenient entrance for any member of the clergy coming from the papal and bishop's palaces opposite. When the papal curia was in town, only the most distinguished members were able to be housed in such close proximity to the cathedral. This however does not exclude the fact that ceremonial entrances are usually more impressive in large numbers and the highest ranking ecclesiastic to enter the cathedral from the south was probably joined by his entourage outside the cathedral before making his entrance through the porta del Vescovado.<sup>209</sup> The subject matter of the architrave then is also appropriate. The pope, cardinals and bishops were direct descendents of the apostles and it was fitting that they be reminded of their lineage as they entered the house of God. It is likely however, that such reminders were

<sup>206</sup> The architrave is 47 cm. high and 2.11 m. in length. Fumi (2002), p.439.

<sup>207</sup> E. Lunghi, "«Rubeus me fecit»: scultura in Umbria alla fine del Duecento", *Studi di Storia dell'Arte*, 2 (1991), p.18.

<sup>208</sup> P. Saloni, 'Il cosiddetto maestro oltremontano e la pittura gotica inglese' (Degree dissertation, University of Siena, 2000-2001), pp.127-131.

<sup>209</sup> The presence of the papal court meant a significant population increase, of between 500 and 600 people directly dependent on the Roman Curia. This does not include the numerous additional groups of «*curiales Curiam sequentes*» which were also attracted to the city by the papal presence. Paravicini Bagliani (1988), 1; pp.182-183. Not everyone could be conveniently housed near the cathedral and papal residences, not least of all because the space was further reduced by the constant presence of building sites throughout the thirteenth century. In 1281, bishop Francesco of Orvieto found himself residing at San Nicola, having vacated his own residence to accommodate the papal retinue. Riccetti (1996), pp. 194, 202; P. Perali (1910), p.76.

superfluous for these distinguished dignitaries, in which case the subject matter of Rubeus's architrave was possibly aimed at an entirely different public. Perhaps the representation of Christ flanked by his apostles above the southern portal of Orvieto's cathedral was a signpost aimed at the general public, which clearly stipulated that the entrance was reserved only for current representatives of apostolic succession.

Unfortunately, Rubeus did not date his work in Orvieto. His name appears however on the fountain sculpted by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano in Piazza Maggiore at Perugia (Fig. 153). Along the rim of the large bronze basin cast 'a randa', the same technique as that employed in medieval bell casting, Rubeus wrote: «*RUBEUS ME FECIT ANNO DOMINI M.CC.LXX.VII INDICIONE V. TEMPORE REGIMINIS DOMINI ANSELMII DE ALÇATE CAPITANEI POPULI. MAGISTRI FUERUNT HUIUS OPERIS FRATER BEVEGNATE ORDINIS SANCTI BENEDICTI BONASEGNA*».<sup>210</sup> The names of fra Beviginate and Buoninsegna da Venezia occur regularly in Orvietan documentation from the last quarter of the thirteenth century regarding the city's aqueduct and cathedral.<sup>211</sup> A second later inscription sculpted on the lower cornice of the second basin of the Perugian fountain specifies the roles of Beveginate as project coordinator and Buoninsegna as hydraulics engineer.<sup>212</sup> The fact that Rubeus is not mentioned in the second more sophisticated inscription, and the fact that his bronze basin predates Nicola and Giovanni Pisano's sculptures for the fountain, have prompted a theory that Rubeus was originally employed alongside Buoninsegna and Fra' Beviginate on an initial unrealised project. This was then replaced by an elaborate design drawn up a year later by the more fashionable Pisano workshop, into which Rubeus's bronze basin was incorporated.<sup>213</sup> The very limited time period

<sup>210</sup> G. Nicco Fasola, *La fontana di Perugia* (Roma 1951), pp.11, 63.

<sup>211</sup> The two men were in Orvieto at different times. A series of documents issued by the *Consiglio della Credenza* in Perugia between 28 January and 13 April 1277 names Buoninsegna da Venezia as the hydraulics engineer working contemporaneously on the aqueducts of both Orvieto and Perugia. Work on the Orvietan aqueduct probably began around 1273 when pope Gregory X is recorded as having conceded the offerings for the Corpus Domini to the works for city aqueduct. Two sixteenth century chronicles claim that the aqueduct was finished in 1276, however the Perugian documents make it clear that Buoninsegna was still working on it in 1277. L. Riccetti, *La città costruita. Lavori pubblici e immagine in Orvieto medievale* (Firenze 1992), pp.262-263; Fumi (2002), p.8, n.1; A. Ceccarelli, *Dell'Historia di Casa Monaldesca* (1580), p.31; C. Manente, *Dell'Historie*, vol.1 (1561), p.138, Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, *Diario* (1504), col.363. Fra' Beveginate is first documented in Orvieto as a witness to the sale of some land in the city. The act is dated in Orvieto, 17 June 1291. The monk is reconfirmed as 'operaius' of the cathedral in an act dated 16 October 1295 and named 'superstans' of the cathedral project on 11 March 1300. M.C. Battisti, 'Per una revisione del «problema fra' Beviginate»: l'attività perugina e orvietana', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 42-43 (1986-1987), pp.88, 104-105.

<sup>212</sup> The verses in Latin also name Nicola and Giovanni Pisano as the sculptors and seem to indicate fra' Beviginate as project coordinator. See Appendix 1 of this thesis for the Latin inscription and its English translation.

<sup>213</sup> E. Lunghi (1991), pp.10-11.

between casting the bronze basin in 1277 and the completion of the entire project in 1278 suggests however that the Pisano fountain in Perugia was in fact one homogeneous project. Objections to the suggestion that the bronze caster “Rubeus” in Orvieto and Perugia is the same person as “Rubeo padellario”, mentioned in a series of payments of November and December 1263 now located in the State Archives in Siena, would seem unfounded.<sup>214</sup> In Siena “Rubeo padellario” was paid to craft a decorative copper sphere which was to be fixed to the highest external point of the Siennese cathedral’s dome. The quality of the bronze casting performed by Rubeus in both Perugia and Orvieto, has provoked scepticism that the same craftsman could be named ‘padellario’ or ‘pot maker’ and would stoop to work in the copper medium in Siena.<sup>215</sup>

The «*Capitulum campanarii et lavicarorium*» established by the ‘Giustizia Vecchia’ on 26 November 1282 shows that in Venice, bronze casters of monuments of immense civic and religious importance such as bells belonged to the same ‘Capitolo’ as those who cast cauldrons.<sup>216</sup> The same occurred in Cortona, where bronze casters were modestly called *calderari* in the fourteenth century, because they were also known for making bronze cauldrons and other kitchen utensils.<sup>217</sup> Considering the concave shape of medieval fountain basins, and that of cauldrons and bells, it would not be untoward to think that cauldron making provided bread and butter money for medieval bell-founders in between eventual important commissions. Given the itinerant nature of medieval bronze casters, it is likely that Rubeus was similar to the Venetian and Cortonese masters of the same craft.

Rubeus’s singular signature on the basin of the Perugia fountain and the fact that the column which supports it also bears the date it was founded but not the craftsman’s signature, have led to further attributions of a number of medieval bronzes to his hand.<sup>218</sup> One of the most pressing problems remains the question of Rubeus’s artistic

<sup>214</sup> A. Bagnoli, ‘Novità su Nicola Pisano scultore del Duomo di Siena’, *Prospettiva*, 27 (1981), pp.32, 44; A. Venturi, *Storia dell’Arte Italiana. IV. La scultura del Trecento e le sue origini* (Milan 1906), pp.36-37; Siena, Archivio di Stato, Biccherna 37 (luglio-dicembre 1263), c. 33r.

<sup>215</sup> G. Cuccini, *Il grifo e il leone bronzei di Perugia* (Perugia 1994), p.122; Lunghi (1991), p.12; S. Angelucci, ‘Grifi, Restauro e studio tecnico’, in *Dipinti, sculture e ceramiche della Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria. Studi e restauri*, ed. by C. Bon Valsassina e V. Garibaldi (Firenze 1994), p.76.

<sup>216</sup> G. Monticolo and E. Besta ed. by, *I Capitolari delle arti veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia* (Rome 1914), vol. 3, pp.107-121; B. Cecchetti, ‘Le industrie in Venezia nel secolo XIII’, *Archivio Veneto*, IV, 2 (1872), pp. 211-257.

<sup>217</sup> E. Calzini, ‘Campane e Fonditori di Campane. (Spigolature e notizie inedite)’, *Rassegna bibliografica dell’arte italiana*, 14 (1911), pp.153-154.

<sup>218</sup> The inscription on the supporting capital of the bronze basin on the fountain in Perugia reads: «*Tempore domini Mathaei de Coriga et domini Ermani de Saxoferato.*» Matthew of Correggio is podestà in Perugia in 1278. Ermanno da Sassoferrato was capitano del popolo the same year. Lunghi (1991), p.9; Nicco Fasola (1941), pp.54, 63. The group of winged griffons and lions which was once part of the



role. Was he a specialist in casting bronze works of art designed by other artists? Or was Rubeus an artist in his own right who designed his own works of art? At the moment his two signed works of art give no clear indication of the answer. In Perugia the bronze fountain basin seems to support the theory that 'Rubeo padellario' was probably an exceptionally well prepared founder of bronze whereas the architrave in Orvieto suggests that he may have been no mere craftsman. Recent scholarship tends to give him the credit of doubt and see him as an artist in his own right. This approach has led to further attributions of sculptures executed in wood and stone to his hand.<sup>219</sup> From 'pot maker' to painter, his name has also been linked to that of 'Rubeo' documented in wall painting and manuscript commissions in Perugia from 1293 to 1300.<sup>220</sup>

The exaggerated *hanchement* of the figures of the apostles on the signed architrave in Orvieto has also provoked a certain amount of hypothesis. Gramaccini puts forward the proposal that the name 'Rubeus' or 'Rosso' is derived from the German term 'Rotgießer' which was used for craftsmen who founded copper, suggesting that Rubeus was actually German.<sup>221</sup> If Rubeus was in fact an artist, this would account for the accentuated Gothic style of his figures. On the other hand it was evidently common to find both signatures of the bronze caster alongside that of the designer of a work of art in Medieval Germany.<sup>222</sup> Unfortunately, current documentation gives no conclusive evidence as to Rubeus's role as an artist. It appears however that his presence in Orvieto was influential with regards to the future of bronze in the city. In 1276 Pandolfo Savelli commissioned the bronze basin of the fountain in piazza Maggiore of Orvieto from an undocumented artisan.<sup>223</sup> While Rubeus is documented in Perugia, a bronze bell was cast by Guidotto Pisano in 1277, for Abbot

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Pisano fountain in Perugia and the three feminine figures represented in the bronze column from the same fountain, have been attributed to Rubeus. N. Gramaccini, 'Zur Ikonologie der Bronze im Mittelalter', *Staedel Jahrbuch*, XI (1987), pp.147-169; Lunghi (1991), p.11; S. Angelucci (1994), p.77; E. Neri Lusanna, 'Rubeus (doc. 1270-1300 ca.). Monumento funebre di Filippo di Courtenay, imperatore di Costantinopoli', 'La scultura in San Francesco', in *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, ed. by G. Bonsanti (Modena 2002), pp.209-230; 302-304. The gilded bronze winged Griffon and Lion of larger dimensions, documented as being cast in 1274 for Palazzo dei Priori in Perugia, have also been attributed to Rubeus. A. Venturi, *Giovanni Pisano. La vita e l'opera* (Bologna 1928), p.50; Lunghi (1991), pp.12-13.

<sup>219</sup> Recently both the Funeral Monument of Giovanni di Brienne, in the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi and a wooden statue of the Madonna in the Opera del Duomo di Orvieto have been added to Rubeus's repertoire. Neri Lusanna (2002), pp.302-304; Lunghi (1991), pp.17, 27-32.

<sup>220</sup> Cuccini (1994), p.122; Lunghi (1991), p.12; G. Swarzenski, *Nicola Pisano* (Frankfurt 1926), p.52.

<sup>221</sup> Gramaccini (1987), pp.147-169. Scalini says that Rubeus was either German or Venetian, like the hydraulics engineer Boninsegna da Venezia who was present in both Orvieto and Perugia in the same period. M. Scalini, *L'arte italiana del bronzo 1100-1700* (Busto Arsizio 1988), p.82.

<sup>222</sup> S. Angelucci (1994), pp.76-77. Angelucci suggests that a German specialist in bronze casting such as Rubeus could also be responsible for the founding of the bronze statue of Saint Peter in the basilica di San Pietro in Rome.

<sup>223</sup> P. Perali, 'La distrutta fontana della piazza maggiore di Orvieto', *Rivista Umbra* (1910), p.7.

Bartolomeo at the Orvietan monastery of SS. Severo and Martirio.<sup>224</sup> Roughly ten years later Stefano of Orvieto cast a bell for the Augustinian church of Sant'Agostino in Orvieto.<sup>225</sup> One wonders where Stefano learned the art of bronze casting? In 1325 the (Orvietans?) Buccio and Tino di Biagio, master Puccio di Lotto, Master Vannuccio di Buccio goldsmith, master Benedetto di Manno and Niccoluccio di Nuto from Siena were all working on casting the bronze angels, which were to flank the Maestà above the central portal of the western façade of the cathedral (Fig. 38).<sup>226</sup> By December 1329 the bronze symbols of the four evangelists from the façade had already been cast (Fig. 71).<sup>227</sup> Bronze was an unusually popular medium in medieval Orvieto and its foundries seemed to be the direct inheritance of earlier foreign bronze casters of the highest calibre, such as Guidotto Pisano and Rubeus, who were executing commissions for the city in the seventies and eighties of the Duecento.<sup>228</sup>

In this chapter I have demonstrated that the two transept chapels decorated with stories of Eucharistic miracles and the Last Judgement carefully reflect the earlier

<sup>224</sup> The existence of the bell dated 1277 suggests that Rubeus may not have been present in Orvieto at that time, as surely the Premonstratensian monks would have commissioned the bell from him. The inscription on the bell is: «+ A.D.MCCLXXVII. AD. HONOREM. DEI. ET. BEATE. MARIE VIRGINIS. ET. SANCTI SEVERI + MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM. + HONOREM. DEO. ET. PATRIE. LIBERATIONEM. + TemPorE. BARTHOLOMEI. ABBATIS. + GUIDOCTVS PISANVS. ME. FECIT.» Guidotto Pisano came from a family of bell founders. His father Bartolomeo Pisano cast a number of bells for Roman churches and two for the church of San Francesco in Assisi. His brother Andrea signed a bell for the Franciscan convent Santa Maria in Aracoeli in 1268. Guidotto's earliest commission appears to have been for a lost bell for the church of San Polo in Sabina on the outskirts of Rome. He later signed two bells commissioned by Pandolfo Savelli for the Roman churches of S. Nicola in Carcere in 1286 and S. Angelo in Pescheria in 1291. Pandolfo Savelli was podestà of Orvieto in 1276, when he commissioned the bronze basin for the city fountain in piazza Maggiore. This was only a year prior to the Premonstratensian commission for their Orvietan monastery of SS. Severo and Martirio and it is not unlikely that Guidotto Pisano was also the bronze caster who received the earlier Savelli commission in 1276. He was after all the youngest member of a well know family of bell founders and was the most likely member to be sent out on a time consuming external commission such as a fountain basin, which after all required less skill and precision than founding a bell. Guidotto signed another bell for the church of S. Tommaso in Formis in Rome in 1289. Two of his bells are located in Anagni (1295) and Orvieto (1277). S. de Blaauw, 'Campanae supra urbem. Sull'uso delle campane nella Roma medievale', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 47 (1993), pp.376, 410-414.

<sup>225</sup> The bell from the church of Sant'Agostino bears the inscription: «*Mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem Deo et patriae liberationem. Amen. M. Stephanus Urbevetanus me fecit anno Domini 1288 hoc vero anno Domini 1770 me refecit D. Jo. Baptista Donati aquilanus cum eius discipulo Dominico Fiorelli a Castro Rivoso ad honorem Dei et B.V.M. et Sancti Augustini*». Satolli (1968), p.39. Rubeus was probably present in the city after the Pandolfo Savelli and the premonstratensian commissions in 1276 and 1277, but before Orvieto had any skilled bronze casters of its own - such as Stefano Orvietano - to commission work of.

<sup>226</sup> Earlier Luzi had already suggested that the bronze baldachin and angels surrounding Andrea Pisano's marble statue of the Virgin and Child Enthroned were executed by Lorenzo Maitani and his workshop. Luzi (1866), p.38; Fumi (2002), p.94.

<sup>227</sup> Fumi (2002), p.95.

<sup>228</sup> Fiderer Moskowitz suggests that Andrea Pisano first experienced the use of bronze as an artistic medium, which then prepared him for his first major commission in bronze, of the doors for the Baptistry of San Giovanni in Florence. A. Fiderer Moskowitz, *The Sculpture of Andrea and Nino Pisano* (New York 1986), p.3.

iconographic programme illustrating the themes of Resurrection and Salvation on the cathedral façade. This conscious use of repetition was linked to the memory of the scholastic environment surrounding the papal court and the principal mendicant convents in Orvieto, from which the initial cathedral project emerged. Detailed consideration of the drawings now divided between museums in London, Berlin and Orvieto show that a pulpit of significant size was also planned for the cathedral in Orvieto, similar to its Tuscan counterparts in Pisa and Siena. Close examination of the iconography on the gable over the Bishop's chair in the choir of the cathedral also points to Siena as the geographic source of its inspiration, and here I suggest that the iconographic motif of the Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by an angelic choir, portrayed on the gable in intarsia, can be attributed to the original repertoire of Simone Martini; present in Orvieto at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Finally, the precocious use of bronze in the decorative architrave signed by Rubeus and situated over the Porta del Vescovado is studied in function of the role which this medium went on to play in other civic commissions in the city of Orvieto.

#### 4 The Cathedral in its Religious Context

In the previous chapters discussion has focused on the exterior and interior aspects of the cathedral of Orvieto itself; in this chapter I will discuss the city cathedral in relation to the many churches which surrounded it. The construction of a cathedral was due to the combined forces of the city's bishop, its Commune and Populace, and in the case of Orvieto the key role of the Papacy has also been established. Such ambitious and extensive renovation, as was that of Santa Maria in Orvieto, necessarily caused a change in the religious dynamics of the late medieval city and this chapter documents the power play which took place in the city's religious arena during the cathedral's construction.

Orvieto's most impressive religious monument is its late medieval cathedral. Even from a distance, the building's profile is clearly silhouetted on the city skyline and towers above the anonymous bell towers of its surrounding churches, which in their turn blend into the indistinguishable shadows of civic and religious constructions on the city's plateau (Fig. 1). The visual impression made by the city on its surrounding state constantly reminded its populace that they were citizens of the church and that their city lay within the Papal patrimony of Saint Peter, and that identity was inexorable. The cathedral was the bishop's seat, it was administered by the canons of the cathedral chapter, and in the period in question was also regularly graced with the presence of high ranking clergy and the pope, heir to the apostle Peter and bishop of Rome, himself.<sup>1</sup>

Medieval Orvieto was however a city overflowing with churches. In addition to those of the monastic and mendicant orders - attracted to the city's papal presence like bees to a honey pot, the city's urban fabric was interwoven with parishes, oratories and chapels dedicated to titular saints. Complex dynamics link certain religious communities to the city's populace through administrative rights which they exercised over parish churches.<sup>2</sup> The mendicant orders, which established themselves in Orvieto at a second moment, seem to have developed this particular use of the parish church as a permanent means of penetrating the urban community. They located their convents,

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<sup>1</sup> Popes Urban IV, Gregory X, Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII who resided in Orvieto with the papal court were actually all present in the city before the new cathedral was completed. The papal residences however were all located in its close vicinity and there can be no doubt that high ranking clergy regarded the cathedral as their church. For a list of canons at the cathedral chapter at the end of the thirteenth century see Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> The cathedral chapter, the Lateran canons, the Guglielmites, the Benedictine and the Premonstratensian orders all administered urban parishes in Orvieto in the second half of the thirteenth century.

which they named after their most popular saints, at the same site as urban churches.<sup>3</sup> In addition, they exploited the Roman Catholic cult of death and blatantly concentrated on encouraging burials directly in their own churches – a tactic which firmly ensconced them in local life.<sup>4</sup> Papal presence was after all sporadic and unpredictable and the religious orders present in Orvieto needed dependable sustenance, something they could obtain from the local populace.

### Parish Churches, the Cathedral Chapter and the Mendicants

The general tax census ordered by the Commune of Orvieto in 1292 illustrates that at the end of the thirteenth century Orvieto was divided into four parts or 'quartieri' known as the Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale, the Quarter of Santa Pace, the Quarter of Serancia and the Quarter of Postierla.<sup>5</sup> The Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale and the Quarter of Santa Pace took their names from important parish churches within the districts.<sup>6</sup> The Quarter of Postierla situated at the north end of the plateau was the largest in surface area, housed more than 2/5 of the city's population and took its name from the city gate located there.<sup>7</sup> Each of these four Quarters was

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<sup>3</sup> San Domenico was built in the parish of Santa Pace by the Dominican order. The Franciscan church was built where initially Santa Maria in Polzella was located. The mendicant church was originally dedicated to the local Franciscan Ambrogio, who was object of a popular cult which endeavoured to have him canonised. When local efforts failed in the promotion of Ambrogio's canonisation process, the Franciscans added Saint Francis as a *titulus*, who gradually replaced Ambrogio in the *titular* dedication. Santa Lucia was incorporated into the complex of Sant'Agostino by the Augustinian order. See pp.134-139 of this Chapter for the Franciscan and Dominican church. For Santa Lucia and the Augustinian order see: R. Davanzo, 'La chiesa di Sant'Agostino in Orvieto: storia e fasi costruttive dell'organismo architettonico', *Le Stanze delle Meraviglie. Da Simone Martini a Francesco Mochi. Verso il nuovo museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto* (Milan 2006), p.26.

<sup>4</sup> This political stance on the part of the mendicant orders is clearly reflected in the appearance of their representatives amongst the elect in the reliefs of the Last Judgement panel on the northern side of the cathedral façade.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Catasto' or general census of all material wealth owned by all citizens of the city and district of Orvieto was ordered by the Commune of Orvieto in 1292 and was used to then calculate a tax each individual was to pay. It is one of the earliest of its kind to be performed and preserved in Italy. É. Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ville et campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292* (Paris 1986), p.11; L. Fumi, *Codice Diplomatico della Città d'Orvieto. Documenti e Regesti dal secolo XI al XV* (1884), p.VIII.

<sup>6</sup> All three churches had hospitals attached to them, baptismal fonts and bell towers. San Giovanni and San Giovenale were also burial churches and although I have found no documentation, it is likely that the church of Santa Pace also had a cemetery. The foundation of the convent of the Dominican order in the Quarter of Santa Pace on the site of a small house and hospital in the parish of Santa Pace in 1233 makes it likely that when the Dominican order built their convent they also did their best to assume the hospital and burial duties of the parish. For Santa Pace and the Dominican Convent: T. Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates veteris disciplinae ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome 1864), vol.1, pp. 183, 198; T. Piccolomini-Adami, *Guida storico-artistica della città di Orvieto* (Siena 1883), pp.220-221; R. Bonelli, 'La chiesa di San Domenico in Orvieto', *Palladio*, 5-6 (1943), p.150, n.8. Monaldeschi states that Santa Pace, San Giovanni and San Giovenale were amongst the oldest churches of the city and all possessed baptismal fonts, bell towers and hospitals. M. Monaldeschi, *Commenti Historici* (Venezia 1584), fol.16r.; Carpentier (1986), p.34.

<sup>7</sup> Carpentier (1986), p.42.

divided into a number of regions. The regions were often, but not always, named after the parish churches located there.

*Table A. The Quarters and Regions of Orvieto*

SANTA PACE	POSTIERLA	SS.GIOVANNI E GIOVENALE	SERANCIA
Santa Pace	Santa Maria	San Matteo*	Serancia
San Cristoforo	San Salvatore	San Faustino*	Sant'Angelo de' Surripa*
Valle Piatta	San Costanzo	San Giovanni	San Lorenzo
Ripa dell'Olmo	San Biagio	San Giovenale	Santi Apostoli
	Sant'Egidio		
	San Leonardo		
	Sant'Angelo		
	Santo Stefano		
	San Martino		

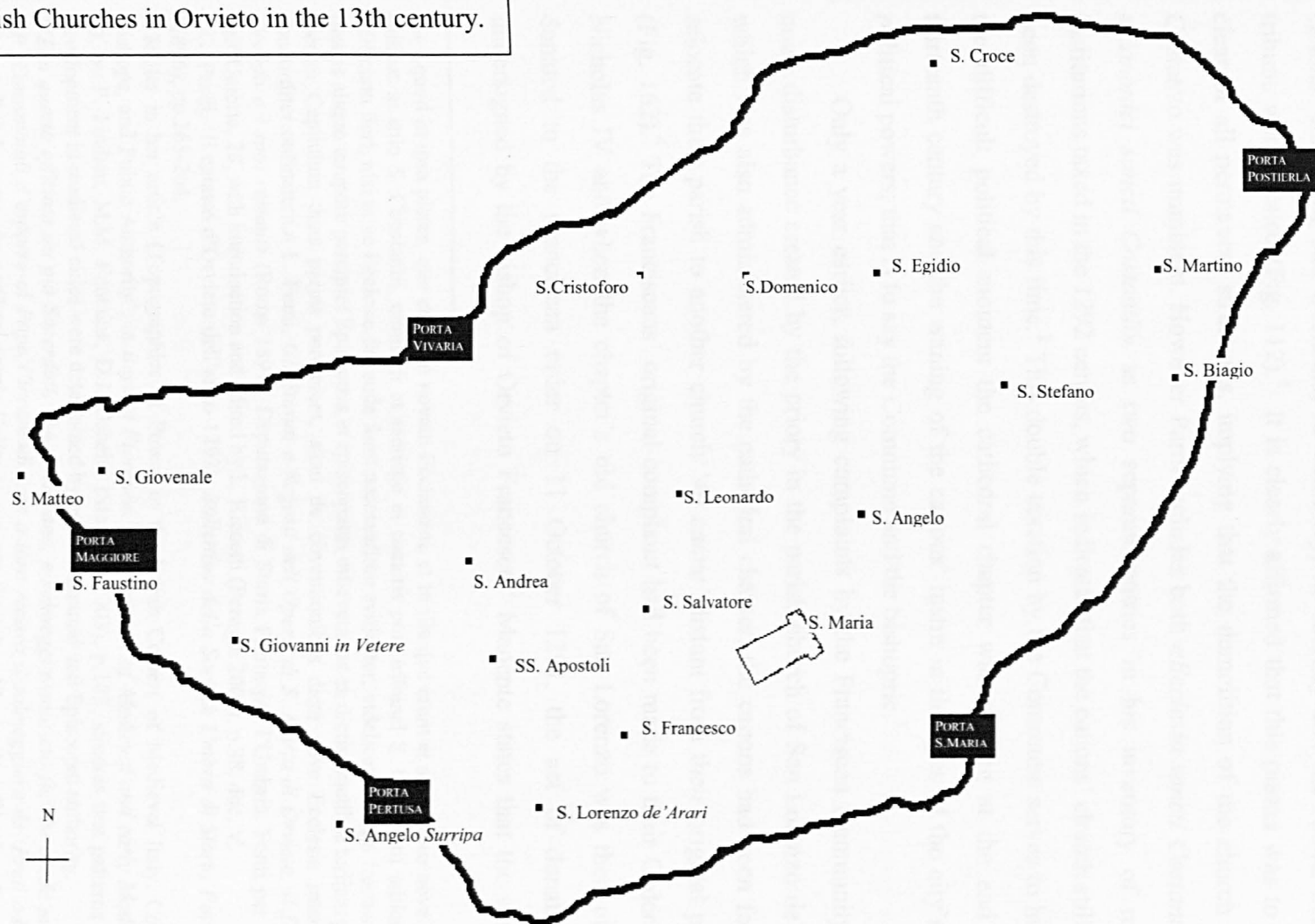
\* Suburban regions are marked with an asterix.<sup>8</sup>

The important parish church of Santa Pace seems to have been either demolished or incorporated in the Dominican convent built in 1233, and therefore the region of Santa Pace was no longer named after its parish church at the time of the census in 1292 (Fig. 23).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The regions date to the 'catasto' or general census of 1292 and are listed in Carpentier's *Orvieto a la fin du XIIIe siècle. Ville et campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292*. The table is from Satolli. Carpentier (1986), p.43; A. Satolli, 'Peculiarità dell'urbanistica orvietana nel Medioevo', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 29 (1983), p.140.

<sup>9</sup> L. Riccetti, 'I primi insediamenti degli ordini mendicanti a Orvieto', in *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII e XIV*, *Archivi dell'Umbria* 9, ed. by M. Rossi Caponeri e L. Riccetti (Perugia 1987), p.XXII, n.58; and note 6 of this chapter.

Map I. Parish Churches in Orvieto in the 13th century.



Two years earlier a document recording the final agreement for the site of the new cathedral between bishop Francesco of Orvieto and the canons of the cathedral chapter states that the piazza in front of the planned cathedral was to be situated where the canons' church of San Costanzo, its cemetery, its sacristy and the rooms behind its tribune were located (Fig. 112).<sup>1</sup> It is clearly affirmed that this piazza was to remain clear of all permanent structures, implying that the demolition of the church of San Costanzo was imminent. However Pardi includes both «*Ecclesia sancti Costantii*» and «*Canonici sancti Costantii*» as two separate entries in his inventory of religious institutions taxed in the 1292 census, which indicates that the canons' church still hadn't been destroyed by this time.<sup>2</sup> This double taxation by the Commune serves to highlight the difficult political moment the cathedral chapter was passing at the end of the thirteenth century and the waning of the canons' lustre in the eyes of the city's major political powers; that is to say the Commune and the bishopric.<sup>3</sup>

Only a year earlier, following complaints by the Franciscan community about noise disturbance created by the priory in the parish church of San Lorenzo de' Arari, which was also administered by the cathedral chapter, the canons had been forced to relocate their parish to another church '40 canne' distant from their original property (Fig. 162).<sup>4</sup> The Franciscans' original complaint had been made to their Order's pope Nicholas IV and when the chapter's old church of San Lorenzo was then officially donated to the Franciscan order on 11 October 1291, the act of donation was undersigned by the bishop of Orvieto Francesco.<sup>5</sup> Manente states that the church of

<sup>1</sup> «...quod in ipsa platea, que erit ante novam Ecclesiam, et in illa que erunt et sunt ipsius nove Ecclesie, scilicet in solo S. Constantii, cimiterii et sacristie et cameris post tribunal S. Constantii nullum debeat edificium fieri, nisi nove Ecclesie faciende foret necessarium evidenter; videlicet si aliqui fructus ex dictis plateis aliquo tempore percipiet Episcopus et episcopatus urbevitanus ex dictis fructibus tertiam partem et dictum Capitulum duas partes percipient, sicut de obventionibus dicte nove Ecclesie inter eos est concorditer ordinatum.» L. Fumi, *Gli Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S. Maria di Orvieto. Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Roma 1891), Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria. Fonti per la Storia dell'Umbria, 28, with introduction and edited by L. Riccetti (Perugia 2002), p.88, doc. V.

<sup>2</sup> G. Pardi, 'Il catasto d'Orvieto dell'anno 1292', *Bollettino della Società Umbra di Storia Patria*, vol.2 (1896), pp.263-264.

<sup>3</sup> Miller in her article (Topographies of Power in the Urban Centers of Medieval Italy. Communes, Bishops, and Public Authority', in *Beyond Florence. The contours of Medieval and early Modern Italy*, ed. by P. Findlen, M.M. Fontaine, D.J. Osheim (Stanford 2003), p.183, stresses that patterns of urban development in medieval cities were determined by both communal and Episcopal authority.

<sup>4</sup> «Era questa officiata da più Sacerdoti, che cantavano, e salmeggiavano: ciò fu, che diede motivo alli PP. Conventuali d'esperre al Papa l'incomodi, che a loro recava il salmeggiare de' Preti addetti alla Chiesa di S. Lorenzo. Accordò tal grazia l'allora regnante Pontefice Nicola IV dell'ordine Franciscano, con condizione però, che i Religiosi conventuali dovessero altra chiesa fabbricare lontana dall'antia 40 canne per comodo de Parrocchiani di S. Lorenzo...». *Raccolta di molte notizie e memorie della Chiesa Priorale di S. Lorenzo e SS. Apostoli d'Orvieto*, manuscript from the Biblioteca "Fumi" di Orvieto, cited by R. Bonelli, 'La supposta ricostruzione della chiesa di San Lorenzo 'de Arari' in Orvieto nel 1291', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 2 (1946), p.9; *Reg.Nic.IV*, 6054 (27 September 1291).

<sup>5</sup> Bonelli (1946), p.9.



*Santa Chiara* was founded in the Quarter of Serancia which housed the Franciscan convent only eight years later.<sup>6</sup> In this case the Franciscan order appeared resolutely determined in carving out a space for itself in an area traditionally identified with the cathedral chapter. Prior to the Franciscan acquisition of the old church of San Lorenzo, pope Nicholas IV had also revoked the administrative rights traditionally held by the Chapter of San Costanzo over the Hospital of Santa Maria and on the 23 December 1288, formally delivered the institution into the hands of the new rector friar Giovanni da Firenze of the Hospitaller's order of San Jacopo d'Altopascio (Fig. 163).<sup>7</sup> Pope Nicholas IV continued to favour the Hospital of Santa Maria at the expense of the cathedral chapter, when in 1291 he exempted the institution from paying any fiscal contributions to the cathedral chapter.<sup>8</sup>

A deed dated November 1197 may well be the earliest reference to an Orvietan confraternity connected to the canons of the cathedral of Orvieto. This «*confraternitas clericorum*», at the time represented by the bishop of Orvieto, received all the property belonging to *presbiter Iohannes*, a priest at the church of Santi Apostoli, in order to found a hospital (Fig. 164).<sup>9</sup> The *Leggenda* of Pietro Parenzo (d. 1199), written by the Orvietan canon Giovanni, also mentions the «*confraternitas clericorum*» in reference to two heretical women who had become members using false displays of piety.<sup>10</sup> By the

<sup>6</sup> As Manente is not an entirely reliable source, the question arises whether he might have confused «*ecclesie Santa Clare*» with the «*cappellam Santa Clare in casaleno comunis iuxta palatium Populi*» mentioned in a document from the Communal Archives dated 11 March 1298. However, as the author clearly states that the “church of Santa Clare was founded in the Quarter of Serancia”, it seems unlikely that he did in fact confuse it with the chapel which was located in the Quarter of Santa Pace. *Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manente (1174-1413)*, in Muratori, RISS, 1, p.333; Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.16, doc. 2.2.4. Piccolomini-Adami states that the church of Santa Clare already existed in 1350, well before the convent which was not opened until 5 September 1520. His source was likely to be the much cited document of candle wax donated by the Commune to a list of churches for their saint's feast days. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.160; Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.46, doc. 2.2.97. A will dated 20 August 1319 leaves money to «*ecclesie S. Clare pro fabrica*», which shows that if the church existed before this date, more work was being done to it. Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.104, doc. 4.1.6.

<sup>7</sup> The origins of the hospital can be dated to a testamentary donation of 13 November 1197, in which presbyter Giovanni from the church of Santi Apostoli left all his worldly possessions to bishop Riccardo so that they could be used to fund a hospital. «*Riccardus II anno MCXVII Cathedrae Urbevetane praesidiebat. Hospitale pro XII pauperibus a Johanne Praesbitero, eo sedente, fundatum est; et S. Petrus Parentii martyrio coronatus.*» T. Mancini, 'L'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Stella di Orvieto. Una vicenda storica tutta da definire', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 50-57 (1994-2001), p.130-131.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas IV also exempted the Hospital of Santa Maria from paying the papal tenth, a privilege repeated by Boniface VIII in 1296. Mancini (1994-2001), p.136; Archivio Statale Orvietano, *Diplomatico dell'Ospedale*, 2-3; Archivio Statale Orvietano, *Libro dopie di bolle*, cc.8-9; *Reg. Nic. IV*, 2759 (17 June 1290); *Reg. Bon. VIII*, 928 (9 February 1296).

<sup>9</sup> J.M. Henderson, 'Piety and Heresy in Medieval Orvieto: The Religious Life of the Laity, c. 1150-1350' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1990), p.271; Fumi (1884), Doc. LXII (13 November 1197).

<sup>10</sup> The two heretics, Militta di Monteamato and Julitta di Firenze, were obviously lay members of the clerical confraternity and canon Giovanni's reference to them clarifies any doubts as to whether the «*confraternitas clericorum*» was merely a reference to the religious members of the canons community.

middle of the thirteenth century, when the confraternity is documented again, the bishop no longer appears as a representative of the lay community. The documents outline a loan made to the confraternity by the Dominican bishop Constantino, a silver thurible which was given by its members as security for the loan and the repayment of the loan.<sup>11</sup> The confraternity was represented in these events by canon Oderisio, the chamberlain of San Costanzo.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that this is the last mention of the clerical lay confraternity associated with the canons of San Costanzo as it coincides with the decline of the canons' power in the city.

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Henderson (1990), p.271; V.Natalini, 'San Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda scritta dal maestro Giovanni da Orvieto', *Lateranum*, n.s., An. II, n. 2 (Roma 1936), p.98.

<sup>11</sup> The confraternity evidently had accumulated some wealth by the mid-thirteenth century and this silver thurible is an indication of its economic means, as the community had probably 'dato in pegno' its most valuable possession as collateral for the loan.

<sup>12</sup> Henderson (1990), pp.271-273; Archivio Capitolare, *Codice di San Costanzo*, f.119 r (8 January 1256).

Table B.<sup>13</sup>**Religious institutions administered by the Cathedral Chapter in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>**

San Giovenale<sup>15</sup>  
 Hospital of Santa Maria  
 San Costanzo  
 San Salvatore  
 San Lorenzo  
 San Bartolomeo  
 San Leonardo  
 Santo Stefano  
 San Matteo and annexed hospital  
 San Giuliano and annexed hospital<sup>16</sup>  
 Sant'Anastasia  
 San Cristoforo

**Religious institutions administered by the Cathedral Chapter at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century**

-  
 -  
 -  
 San Salvatore  
 (relocated)  
 San Bartolomeo (incorporated in S. Andrea)  
 San Leonardo  
 Santo Stefano  
 San Matteo and annexed hospital  
 -  
 Sant'Anastasia  
 San Cristoforo

The location of the Franciscan and Dominican convents in regions which had once possessed two of the oldest, most established parish churches: the churches of Santa Pace and San Costanzo, complete with bell towers, baptismal fonts, hospitals, cemeteries and confraternities, is indicative of these mendicant orders' great strategic powers, which were evidently accompanied by significant political sponsorship (Figs.

<sup>13</sup> Dates were obtained from: V. Natalini, 'Il capitolo del Duomo di Orvieto', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 9 (1955), pp.177-232; Riccetti (1987), pp.XI-XXXI; Carpentier (1986); L. Riccetti, *La città costruita. Lavori pubblici e immagine in Orvieto medievale* (Firenze 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Marabottini claims that bishop Sigifredo decreed the priory church of Sant'Andrea was to be administered together with those of San Lorenzo, San Giovenale and San Salvatore by the chapter of San Costanzo at the beginning of the eleventh century. C. Pacetti, *L'antica chiesa di San Giovenale in Orvieto*, ed. by L. Riccetti, 2nd ed. (Orvieto 1983), p.10; F. Marabottini, *Catalogus Episcoporum Urbisveteris* (Orvieto 1667), in appendix entitled *Sinodo di Mons. Delle Corgna*, 1667.

<sup>15</sup> The cathedral chapter continued to administer the church of San Giovenale at the beginning of the twelfth century. According to Pacetti, who refers to a document in the Vatican, San Giovenale had an annexed hospital from 900. Monaldeschi confirms that the hospital existed at the end of the eleventh century. Satolli, although doubtful, explains that a building close to the convent of Sant'Agostino is still known as the 'Ospedale' by Orvietan locals, however this building may well be the «*Hospitalis S. Nicolai de Urbe*» administered by the Augustinians and documented from 1359. Riccetti (1987), p.XVIII; Pacetti (1983), p.45; A. Satolli, 'Il complesso architettonico di San Giovenale e Sant'Agostino a Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 24 (1968), pp.12, 44; P.T. Bonasoli, *Notizie della Religione Agostiniana*, Manuscript of c.1780, Archivio dei Padri Agostiniani, Rome; Monaldeschi (1584), fol.16r.

<sup>16</sup> San Giuliano appears for the first time in twelfth-century documentary sources. «*Ecclesiam sancti Juliani et hospitale*» is mentioned in the bull of pope Hadrian IV confirming the possessions of the cathedral chapter in Orvieto on 15 October 1156. Pardi writes that the church of San Giuliano also had a hospital annexed to it but makes no mention of it in his list of churches mentioned in the *catasto*. Unfortunately, there is absolutely no indication of the church's location. Riccetti (1992), p.103; Pardi (1896), p. 267, Fumi (1884), p.23.

22, 23, 24).<sup>17</sup> It is logical that the orders were only too happy to substitute previous parish management and quickly assumed the responsibility of catering to the parishioners' spiritual needs in these regions.<sup>18</sup> The Dominican order appears to have done so by occupying the pre-existing parish complex of Santa Pace.<sup>19</sup> The Franciscan order, following Dominican example, also chose a pre-existing church as its urban location; however, as Santa Maria della Polzella had no parish privileges they were obliged to source them elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> They appear to have compensated by assuming the role of the parish church of San Costanzo, the church historically administered by the cathedral canons and the chapter's titular church! What's more, the mendicant order was quick to put some distance between their convent and its closest neighbouring

<sup>17</sup> Pope Gregory IX was a great supporter of both the Dominican and Franciscan's church building efforts. In June 1235 the pope sent a letter addressed to the Podestà and the Orvietan council requesting a subsidy on behalf of the Dominican order «*ad ipsorum domum loco idoneo construendum*». In 1240 the same pope sent another letter to Orvieto announcing an indulgence of forty days to all those who helped the Franciscans build their church. In 1289 bishop Francesco of Orvieto granted «*cura parrochie*» of the church of San Sepolcro in Acquapendente to the Dominican prior in Orvieto. Riccetti (1987), pp. XXII-XXIII; M. Rossi Caponeri (1987), p. XLVII, 193, doc. 7.3.41; T. Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (Rome 1729), p. 76, doc. CXXXIX; J.H. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 1 (Rome 1759), p. 274; Muratori, *RISS*, 1, p. 150. For the parishes of San Costanzo and Santa Pace: Carpentier (1986), p. 34; Monaldeschi (1584), fol. 16r.

<sup>18</sup> A document in the Archivio Capitolare Orvietano, presumably dating to the thirteenth century, illustrates that the Franciscans possessed land in the region of San Costanzo. «*Capitulum Urbevitanum habet ortum olim Ildibrandini Barberii quem tenent fratres minores*». Riccetti (1987), p. XXIII, n. 67.

<sup>19</sup> Pardi claims that the church of Santa Pace was built at the same time as the Dominican convent in 1233 and was dedicated to San Domenico after the saints canonisation the following year. This is contradicted by Piccolomini-Adami, who citing Manente, claims that Dominic had dedicated an oratory in the already existent parish church of Santa Pace during his visit to Orvieto in 1220: «*MCCXX, Detto anno il beato Domenico de Caralogha de Hyspagna, venendo da Roma, fu in Orvieto et honorato, che ampliò la fede de Christo et collegiò in la lettura de lo studio, che dedicò nella chiesa de Santa Pace, in la Corsica sua devotione...*». Cipriano Manente noted here in the margin: «*l'oratorio per sua devotione*». According to the Sienese author construction of the church of San Domenico and its convent was recorded in the Synod of Cornia as beginning on 1 August 1233. Piccolomini-Adami claims that under bishop Ranieri Orvietano in the Sinod of Cornia is an entry: «*Anno MCCXXXIII fratres S. Dominici Conventum edificare coeperunt donato eis situ a Trasmondo, et Monaldo Beltrami Petri Cittadini, qui fuerunt de progenie Monaldensium, et Gregorius Papa nonus pro edificiis perfectione diploma promulgavit*». The author also cites an early copy of the Commune's original building concession for the convent, made in 1308 by the notary Ildebrando and contained in the Archive of the Dominican Convent in Orvieto from 1810. Tommaso Masetti, who cites the same documents contained in the Dominican Convent in Orvieto, writes that before the Dominican convent was built there was already a small house and hospital on the site. Masetti claims that the Dominican order was present in Orvieto from 1230 on, citing the authors Bottonio and Altamura as confirmation. The concession stated that the land was donated to Beato Chiaro da Sesto Fiorentino, who died around two years later in Orvieto, by Trasmondo and Monaldo di Pietro Beltrami, Monaldeschi. In 1245 a provincial Dominican chapter was convened at San Domenico in Orvieto, which suggests that a church and convent of the Dominican order were already in existence in the city. Masetti (1864), pp. 183, 198; Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp. 220, n. 1, 221; Pardi (1896), p. 272; *Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manente (1174-1413)*, in Muratori, *RISS*, 1, p. 290; Bonelli (1943), pp. 139, 150, n. 8; D.M. Gillerman, 'S. Domenico in Orvieto: the Date of Construction', in *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli. Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'architettura*, ed. by C. Bozzoni, G. Carbonara, G. Villetti, 2 vols. (1992), vol. 1, p. 182; T. Kaeppli and A. Dondaine, 'Acta capitulorum provincialium. Provinciae romanae (1243-1344)', *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica*, XX (Rome 1941), p. 4.

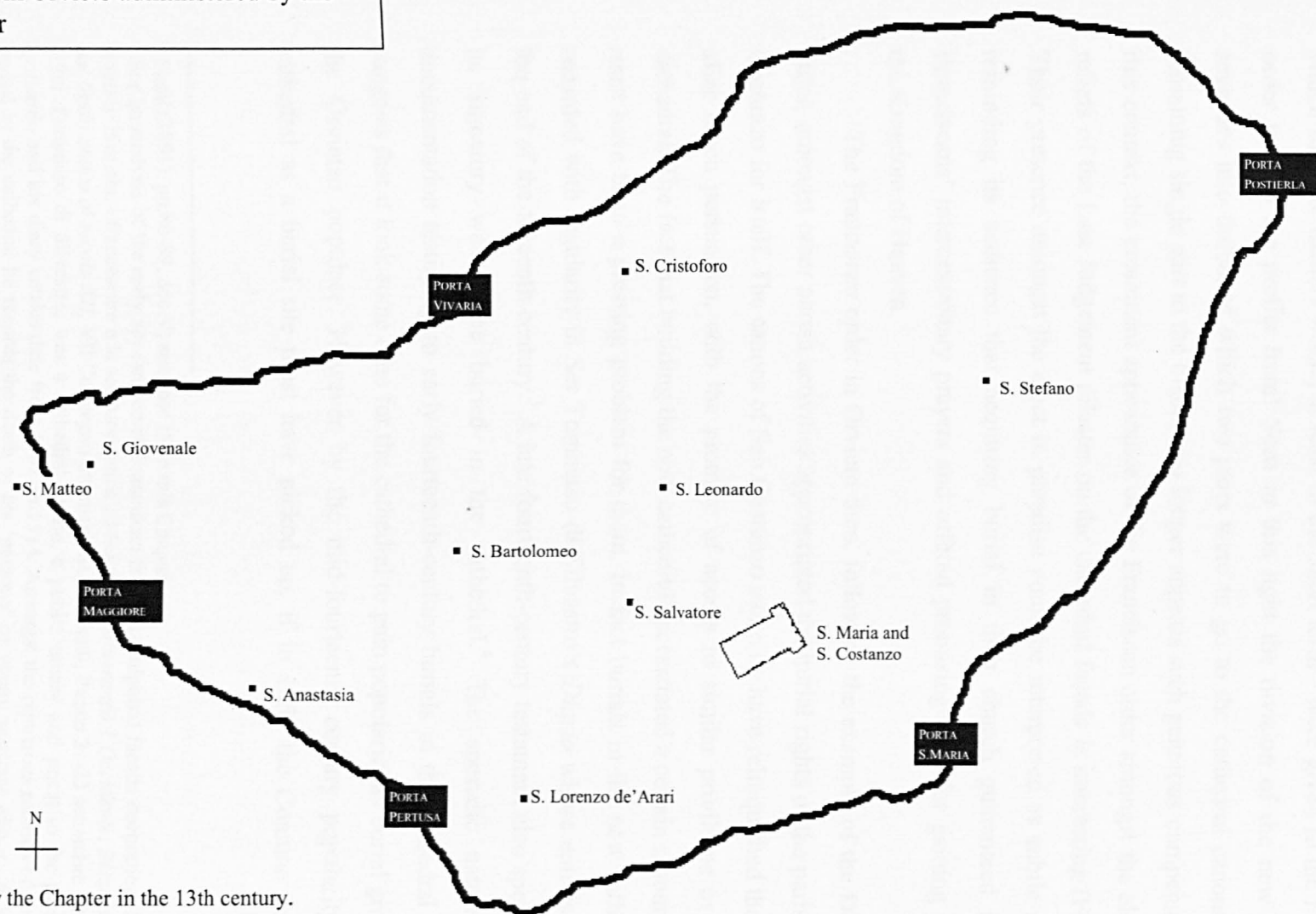
<sup>20</sup> Early local scholars all agree that the Franciscans, like the Dominicans, built their church on the site of an already existing church, dedicated to Santa Maria della Polzella. Riccetti (1987), p. XXIII, n. 64.

parish, San Lorenzo: also administered by the cathedral chapter, which in effect further weakened the canons' jurisdiction. Neither did the Franciscans have any qualms about further establishing their dominion in the *rione di San Costanzo* by situating the Poor Clares' urban seat of Santa Clare in the same urban zone (Map III). No wonder the cathedral canons were so belligerently slow in coming to terms with the new cathedral project that it took the personal intervention of the – not by chance – Franciscan pope Nicholas IV, who eventually sent his chamberlain Nicholas of Trevi to compel the canons to reach an agreement with the bishop and honour it.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> L. Riccetti, 'Le origini dell'Opera, Lorenzo Maitani e l'architettura del Duomo di Orvieto', *Opera. Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all'inizio dell'età moderna*, Atti della tavola rotonda, Villa i Tatti, Firenze 3.4.1991, ed. by M. Haines (Firenze 1996), pp.208-209.

Map II. Churches in Orvieto administered by the  
Cathedral Chapter



■ Churches administered by the Chapter in the 13th century.

The chapter was not only losing its titular church, but along with it all of the lucrative administrative rights of its parish, its baptistery, its cemetery and its hospital - which to make matters worse, at least in the short term - were given to the Franciscan order to reap the profits from! Seen in this light the division of the new cathedral revenues into thirds, of which two parts were to go to the cathedral canons and the remaining single part to the bishop, no longer appears such generous compensation.<sup>1</sup> In this context, the prominent appearance of the Franciscan order amongst the elect in the reliefs of the Last Judgement pilaster on the cathedral façade is interesting (Fig. 126).<sup>2</sup> Their presence amongst the elect in paradise could be interpreted as subtle publicity, reminding its audience that acquiring burial in their church guaranteed them the Franciscans' intercessionary prayers and offered promising odds for gaining access to the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Franciscan order in Orvieto then, following the example of the Dominican order, amongst other parish activities appropriated the burial rights of the parish of San Costanzo for itself. The canons of San Costanzo can only have relinquished these rights after much persuasion, with the promise of access to similar privileges in the new cathedral. The fact that building the new cathedral necessitated a certain amount of time must have been a pressing problem for them. In fact burials in the new cathedral are recorded with regularity in Ser Tommaso di Silvestro's *Diario* whose entries begin at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A late fourteenth-century testament also specified that its signatory was to be buried in the cathedral.<sup>4</sup> The sporadic nature of the documentation testifying to early fourteenth-century burials in the cathedral however suggests that it took some time for the cathedral to gain popularity as burial grounds for the Orvietan populace. However by the mid-fourteenth century popularity of the cathedral as a burial site must have picked up, if in 1357 the Comune decided to

<sup>1</sup> Fumi (1891), pp.86-89, doc.V; see note 10 in this Chapter.

<sup>2</sup> For an analysis of the early appearance of Franciscan friars in sculptural facade decoration: J. Gardner, 'Frati in facciata: i francescani e la scultura gotica', *Medievo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bizanzio e l'Islam dal tardo antico al secolo XII*, VII Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 21-25 settembre 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, was a cathedral canon, a public notary and priest in the parish of San Leonardo and his diary entries date from 1482 to 1514. Amongst the numerous records of people being buried in the cathedral he records the death of his 'garzone' or young assistant who «...fu seppellito in Sancto Maria nel pilo delle capellani a di XV de Jugno 1486». *Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro (1482-1514)*, Muratori, RISS, 2, p.11.

<sup>4</sup> A will drawn up on 19 February 1374 by domina Bartolomea specifies that she wants to be buried in the Duomo and demonstrates that people were being buried in the cathedral as early as the second half of the fourteenth century. 'Archivio di Stato. Archivio Notarile', ed. by M. Rossi Caponeri, in *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII e XIV. Archivi di Orvieto*, Archivi dell'Umbria. Inventari e ricerche, ed. by M. Rossi Caponeri e L. Riccetti (Perugia 1987), p.120, doc. 4.17.1.

construct a burial crypt under the choir.<sup>5</sup> A written request addressed to the chamberlain of the cathedral and dated 28 July 1388, from the notary Angelo di Paolino specifies the area in the cathedral nave where the notary wanted to be buried «*presso la colonna che si trova tra la cappella di Iacopo di Ser Vanni e la porta della chiesa che è detta porta di canonicha*». This burial ground was also to include the column, where Angelo intended to have a series of religious figures painted. Only one month after Angelo's request, the Comune decreed that due to the proliferation of such devotional images, many which were of poor artistic quality, all artistic commissions in the cathedral were to be authorised first by the authorities.<sup>6</sup>

### The Business of Burials

The question that arises is where were the canons burying their dead in the time lapse between the destruction of their parish church and the completion of the new cathedral? The *Agnus Dei* sculpted on the trifoliate arch above the doors of the gothic portal at the centre of the façade of the church of San Francesco in Orvieto may well indicate the chapter's seal of approval (albeit reluctantly given?) for parish members who opted for San Francesco as their burial church in the final ten years of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century while the cathedral of Santa Maria della Stella was still under construction (Fig. 165). It is telling that at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, the church received the eminent bodies of three cardinals, an archbishop, a Palatine prince and the Lord of Orvieto for burial, tombs of notable rank which would have been perfectly suited to the city cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> M. Bacci, *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Bari 2003), pp.146-147.

<sup>6</sup> Bacci (2003), pp.146-147; Fumi (1891, 2002), pp. 775, doc. II (2 August 1357), 780-781, doc. LII (27 August 1388).

<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Bernard of Languisel, Archbishop of Arles and cardinal bishop of Porto died in Orvieto on 19 September 1290 and was buried in San Francesco. Cardinal Jean Cholet's entrails were buried in the Church of San Francesco when he died in Orvieto in 1292. See Chapter 3, pp.108-109 and Chapter 5, p.208 of this thesis. The Cistercian Simon of Beaulieu, cardinal bishop of Prenestina, died in Orvieto on 8 August 1297 and was buried in San Francesco. See Chapter 5, pp.208-210 of this thesis. On 31 August 1303 Obizzio Sanvitali, archbishop of Ravenna died and was buried in San Francesco in Orvieto. Count Ildebrandino Aldobrandeschi il Rosso died in Sovana on 18 May 1284 and was buried in the chapel he had commissioned built in front of the sacristy in the church of San Francesco in Orvieto. See Chapter 5, pp.211-213 of this thesis. Ermanno Monaldeschi Lord of Orvieto died in 1337 and was buried in San Francesco. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp.146-149; G. Ciacci, *Gli Aldobrandeschi nella storia e nella "Divina Commedia"*, 2 vols. (Rome 1980), I, pp. 241-242. These are not the only personalities of interest to be buried in the Franciscan church. Further discussion of the tombs in the church will be addressed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.



In the Middle Ages funeral masses usually took place in the parish church.<sup>8</sup> From the eleventh century on, ordinary people were normally buried in cemeteries external to the church.<sup>9</sup> In Orvieto cemeteries were documented at the parish churches of San Costanzo, San Lorenzo and San Giovenale (Figs. 162, 177).<sup>10</sup> In a number of medieval wills remaining in the Archivio Notarile in Orvieto, the signatory specified their preferences in burial site.<sup>11</sup> The most common burial sites for members of the urban populace who left wills were the mendicant churches of San Francesco, San Domenico and Sant'Agostino. Only rarely are other churches such as San Giovanni *de Platea* or the cathedral of Santa Maria stipulated (Figs. 23, 24, 166, 167, 168, 169). In these rare examples, the deceased came from the same urban zone that their burial church was in.<sup>12</sup> A small group of wills remaining were drawn up for people from villages in the countryside surrounding Orvieto. In these, donations were usually destined for the churches in their village of residence and, if they specified, the deceased had chosen to be buried in a church in his village.<sup>13</sup> Obviously the subjects who had a will drawn up by a notary had enough money put aside to pay the notarial fees and leave donations after their deaths. Presumably less well-heeled members of the populace were buried in unmarked graves in the outdoor cemeteries of their local parish churches.<sup>14</sup>

The notably high percentage of donations and specifications in the notarial testaments for burial in mendicant churches has prompted Rossi Caponeri to suggest that these mendicant orders might have been linked to certain social categories, in particular that of the upwardly mobile.<sup>15</sup> Certainly this class was a more lucrative

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<sup>8</sup> A. Thompson, *Cities of God. The religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325* (Pennsylvania 2005), p.405.

<sup>9</sup> M. Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval* (Aubier 2005), p.221; Thompson (2005), p.409.

<sup>10</sup> A cemetery for the Chapel of San Jacopo Maggiore, attached to the Hospital of Santa Maria is mentioned in a papal bull issued on 12 June 1291. Mancini (1994-2001), p.132. Giulielmo Della Valle, who worked in the Orvietan Archive of the Franciscans which has since been lost, mentions a bull issued by Pope Nicholas IV which mentions the church and cemetery of San Lorenzo, which were to be conceded to the order of the friars minor. G. Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome 1791), p.81. An eighteenth-century description of the Church of San Giovenale mentions a cemetery at the church. Satolli (1968), p.11, n.22; *Visitatio secunda ed tertia*, Manuscript of 1733, Archivio Vescovile, p.70. It was common for Orvietan confraternities to offer funeral processions and burial facilities within their own premises as a service to their members. As confraternities are documented in practically all of the most important parish churches by the second half of the thirteenth century, one can safely assume that these churches were also burial grounds – at least for the members of the confraternities they housed. Henderson (1990), pp.288-319, in particular p.311.

<sup>11</sup> The wills from the Archivio Notarile in Orvieto are published by Riccetti and Rossi Caponeri. Rossi Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), pp. 101-150.

<sup>12</sup> Rossi Caponeri (1987), pp. 120, doc.4.17.1; 136, doc.4.19.70.

<sup>13</sup> M. Rossi Caponeri (1987), p.XLII.

<sup>14</sup> Lauwers (2005), p.221; Thompson (2005), p.409.

<sup>15</sup> Rossi Caponeri (1987), p.XLIII.

clientele than the unnamed souls destined for an unmarked grave, however in their adoption of local urban parish roles it is clear that neither the Dominicans nor the Franciscans were so exclusive as to want to exclude the masses from their churches.<sup>16</sup>

### Regions and their Churches

Three other regions besides those of San Costanzo and Santa Pace have names unassociated with parish churches: the *Rione di Valle Piatta*, that of *Ripa dell'Olmo* and *Serancia*. This does not necessarily mean however that there were no churches providing services for parishioners located within them.<sup>17</sup> All five regions of *Santa Pace*, *San Costanzo*, *Valle Piatta*, *Ripa dell'Olmo* and *Serancia*, although not officially named after functioning parish churches in the general census of 1292 were often referred to by the names of the churches located there.<sup>18</sup> The *rione Santa Pace* was also known as *regio San Dominici*, the *rione di San Costanzo* was called *regio San Francisci*, the *rione Valle Piatta* was referred to as *regio San Niccolay* and *Serancia* was called *regio Sant'Andrea*.<sup>19</sup> Only the *rione Ripa dell'Olmo* had no apparent corresponding church named in the census of 1292 located within its precincts.<sup>20</sup> Perali however mentions the church of Santa Mustiola as being generically located in Via

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<sup>16</sup> The issue of paying money for burial had already been addressed by Saint Jerome in his commentary of the Genesis, where he condemned the transactions that took place in Abraham's acquisition of burial grounds from Ephron. (Genesis 23:16). Much later in a letter dated 598, pope Gregory the Great condemns the actions of the bishop of Cagliari who had demanded burial money. By the eleventh century *The South-Italian Canon Law Collectio* had established that a sepulchre could not be sold and in circa 1140 Gratian establishes «*Pro sepultura nichil muneris exigendum est*». With such established precedents there was no way any of the orders could refuse any request of burial from good Christians. However, the question of payment still remained and its solution is clearly reflected in the great number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century donations made to the churches in Orvieto in the wills of its populace. The fact that the medieval clergy were not allowed to ask for sepulchral payment in no way prevented them from accepting spontaneous donations from the faithful. One assumes that these donations could possibly determine the eventual position of the tomb, and stipulation of burial «...in ecclesia S. Francisci de Urbevetera» meant within the walls of the church as opposed to any peripheral position, such as in a cemetery. Lauwers (2005), pp.216-218, 230; Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. in *C.C. Ser.Lat.*, vol.72 (Turnhout 1969), p.28; Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by D. Norberg in *C.C. Ser.Lat.*, vol.140-140° (Turnhout 1982); R.E. Reynolds, 'The South-Italian Canon Law Collectio in Five Books and its Derivatives: New Evidence on its Origins, Diffusion and Use', *Medieval Studies*, 52 (1990), pp.278-295. For Orvietan wills specifying burial site see: Rossi Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), doc. 4.6.1; 4.8.1; 4.9.1; 4.15.2; 4.15.3; 4.15.4; 4.17.1; 4.17.3; 4.17.4; 4.17.6.

<sup>17</sup> Satolli (1983), p.140.

<sup>18</sup> Satolli (1983), p.140. Although the parish church of San Costanzo was taxed in the 1292 census, its days must have already been numbered. Ref. notes 9 and 23 of this chapter.

<sup>19</sup> Satolli (1983), p.140, n.101.

<sup>20</sup> Riccetti places the church of Santa Lucia, which was sold by the Premonstratensian order to the Augustinian order in 1255, was situated in *Ripa dell'Olmo*. Santa Lucia was located in close proximity to the church of San Giovenale, which gave its name to the Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale. It was incorporated in the Augustinian Convent which may well have stretched into the region of *Ripa dell'Olmo*; however, I have placed both the Augustinian convent and the church of Santa Lucia in the Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale. Riccetti (1987), p.XXV.

Pecorelli in *Ripa dell'Olmo*.<sup>21</sup> A church of corresponding name appears in the late thirteenth-century tax census.<sup>22</sup>

Santa Mustiola was also one of a long list of churches in Orvieto to receive candle wax to burn on its saint's day according to a document issued by the Commune on 17 August 1350.<sup>23</sup> In 1240 the *regione Sancte Mustiole* was named in the canonization process of the Franciscan Ambrogio da Massa, which implies that the church was already well enough established to have a region named after it by the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Saint Mustiola was martyred in the third century and buried in the catacombs to the southeast of Chiusi, which at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries was under Orvietan rule.<sup>25</sup> It is not unlikely that the church in Orvieto was founded at this time (Fig. 170).<sup>26</sup> The church was transformed into living quarters in 1970 and had a hanging apse on its western wall which survived the building's reconstruction (Fig. 171). Both the abbey church of the Benedictine/Premonstratensian monastery of Santi Severo e Martirio, first documented in the sixth century and the twelfth century parish church of Santo Stefano in Orvieto have similar hanging apses, which suggests that the foundation of the church of Santa Mustiola might be dated to around the late twelfth - early thirteenth century (Figs. 170, 171, 172, 173).<sup>27</sup>

Further afield the Palatine Chapel of San Niccolò situated above the sacristy of the Cathedral of San Jacopo in Pistoia, which can be accessed only from the Bishop's Palace in Pistoia and not from the cathedral, also has a finely decorated hanging apse

<sup>21</sup> P. Perali, *Orvieto. Note storiche di topografia e d'arte dalle origini al 1800*, 2nd. ed. (Rome 1979), p.51. What remains of it is located in Vicolo Pecorelli III at numbers 1-3 on this street. Despite citing a document mentioning the church of Santa Mustiola, Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti do not include it in the map of religious institutions in thirteenth century Orvieto. This may be because the document cited is dated 1350 and the authors may not have been aware of the earlier thirteenth century documenting the region of Santa Mustiola in Ambrogio da Massa's canonization process. Satolli also cites a document of 1272 which mentions the church. Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp. XXXII-XXXIII; Satolli (1983), p.141; Fumi, RISS, T.XV, P.V, vol.1, p.313 (MCCLXXII). Carpentier also appears to have been unaware of the existence of the church of Santa Mustiola in Orvieto and does not include it on her map entitled *Les principales églises d'Orvieto aux X<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Carpentier (1986), p.36.

<sup>22</sup> Pardi lists the "[*Ecclesia ?*] *sancte Mustiole*" among the other religious institutions taxed in the 1292 *Catasto*. Pardi (1896), pp.263-264.

<sup>23</sup> Riccetti (1987), p.46, doc. 2.2.97.

<sup>24</sup> Satolli (1983), p.141; A.I. Galletti, '«Infirmetas» e terapia sacra in una città medievale (Orvieto, 1240)', *La ricerca folklorica*, 8 (1983), p.22.

<sup>25</sup> S. Ferrali, 'Mustiola e Ireneo', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome 1967), IX, cols.681-686. The document which records the submission of Chiusi to the State of Orvieto refers to this situation as lasting for more than thirty years. D. Waley, *Orvieto Medievale* (Rome 1985), p.29; Fumi (1884), p.49, doc. LXX.

<sup>26</sup> Satolli (1983), p.141, n.102.

<sup>27</sup> The Abbey of Santi Severo and Martirio is first mentioned by pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.264. The parish church of Santo Stefano was first mentioned in a bull issued by pope Hadrian IV in 1156 confirming the possessions of the cathedral chapter in Orvieto. Natalini (1955), p.192.

(Fig. 174). Tigler reminds us that such types of Palatine chapel, complete with hanging apses, were found frequently in the earliest Gothic churches in France, such as the Cathedral of Laon.<sup>28</sup> The seventeenth-century author Giacomo Coelli named the church of Santa Mustiola as the meeting place for the 'università dei sartori' and the 'Compagnia degli Scalzi', where the men and women who belonged to these religious institutions would recite the sacraments and perform other spiritual exercises.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Chapel of San Niccolò was built by Lombard masters in the 1170's. G. Tigler, *Toscana Romanica* (Milan 2006), pp.13, 127-128.

<sup>29</sup> *Memorie Storiche di Orvieto. Copiate da un manoscritto del Sig. Giacomo Coelli vissuto nell'anno 1634*, Manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale di Orvieto, coll. XIV-0-76.

*Table C. The Quarters and urban churches of Orvieto at the end of the thirteenth century*<sup>30</sup>

POSTIERLA	SANTA PACE	SS.GIOVANNI E GIOVENALE	SERANCIA
San Salvatore	Santa Margherita <sup>31</sup>	Santa Lucia	Sant'Anastasia
Santa Maria	San Domenico	Sant'Agostino	San Lodovico (1327) <sup>32</sup>
Sant'Angelo	San Cristoforo	San Giovenale	Santa Maria del Carmine (1312)
Santo Stefano	San Nicola	San Savino	San Giovanni <i>de Platea</i>
San Paolo	Sant'Agnese	San Giovanni <i>in Vetere</i>	San Bartolomeo
Santa Cecilia	Santa Mustiola	San Giacomo (*)	Sant'Andrea
San Pancrazio	San Bernardo (1314) <sup>33</sup>	San Matteo (*)	Santi Apostoli
Santa Caterina Martire		San Faustino (*)	Sant'Ursola <sup>34</sup>
San Biagio			San Lorenzo
Santa Maria Maddalena			Santa Clare
San Martino			San Francesco
Santa Maria dei Servi			Sant'Angelo <i>de Surripa</i> (*)
Santa Croce <sup>35</sup>			
Sant'Egidio			
Sant'Antonio			
San Leonardo			

<sup>30</sup> Reference was made to Perali's sketches of Orvieto's quarters and regions published in Satolli's article of 1983 and Carpentier's map of the quarters in the late thirteenth-century city. As Perali and Carpentier do not agree exactly on the position of the north-eastern border of the quarter of Santa Pace, precedence was given to Carpentier's map which was drawn up a good fifty years later than Perali's. These maps were cross referenced with the map 'Orvieto nel XIII secolo: le istituzioni religiose' in Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti's publication of 1987, Riccetti's maps of 1992 and the geographical listing of churches to receive candle was in 1350. Unfortunately Perali's map is not drawn to scale and the churches located in border areas of certain quarters such as San Ludovico, Sant'Anastasia, Santa Maria del Carmine and Santa Lucia have a very approximate location. Satolli (1983), p.144; Carpentier (1986), p.44; Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.XXXII-XXXIII, 46-47; Riccetti (1992), p.94.

<sup>31</sup> The church of Santa Margherita was probably founded in the early fourteenth century and may well have been located in the Quarter of Postierla. Ref. page 8 below.

<sup>32</sup> According to Piccolomini Adami the Convent of San Lodovico was dedicated to San Lodovico di Tolosa. It is first mentioned in a document of 1327. A more extensive discussion of the argument is given in the following chapter. Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.XXX, 31, doc. 2.2.62, Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp.191-192.

<sup>33</sup> San Bernardo was built on the site which once housed the members of the *Sette* while they governed Orvieto. It is first named in the documents in 1314. Riccetti (1992), pp.120-121; Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp.216-217.

<sup>34</sup> Documented in the fourteenth century with an annexed hospital. Rossi Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), p.47, doc.2.2.97; G. Leoni, 'Il capitolo cattedrale del Duomo di Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 50/57 (1994-2001), p.196.

<sup>35</sup> The monastery of Santa Croce is first mentioned as recipient of a donation of land «*in valle, in regione San Martini*» in 1107. This document suggests that Carpentier's proposal, that the donation of the churches of Sant'Egidio and Santa Croce to the Benedictine monks of Sassovivo at Foligno in 1119 may actually only have consisted of property on which the monks later built the church of Santa Croce, is wrong. The monks received an existing monastery complex which they appear to have given to the female members of their order and governed through a prior from as early as 1154. The church of Santa Croce became a parish church in 1217. Riccetti (1992), pp.96, n.53, 102, n.77; Carpentier (1986), p.37; *Le carte dell'Abbazia di S. Croce di Sassovivo, IV, 1201-1214*, ed. by A.Bartoli Langeli (Florence 1976), pp.81-87 (28 February 1217); Fumi (1884), p.324; Marabottini (1667), p.7; Biblioteca Comunale di Orvieto, *Donazione Tordi, Pergamene*, n.210.

In addition to the church of Santa Mustiola in *Ripa dell'Olmo*, I have also added the churches of Sant'Anastasia, Santa Margherita, Sant'Antonio and San Giacomo to the late thirteenth-century urban map of Orvieto (Map III).<sup>36</sup> Documentation of the church of Sant'Anastasia appears from the twelfth century, when it belonged to the cathedral chapter.<sup>37</sup> It was included in the tax census of 1292 and appears in the long list of churches which were to receive donations of candle wax from the Commune in the document dated 17 August 1350.<sup>38</sup> This fourteenth-century document is particularly interesting as it lists the churches following a rough anticlockwise rotational geographical order, beginning with the cathedral and churches in the Quarter of Postierla, proceeding in an anticlockwise direction southward through the churches in the Quarter of Santa Pace, progressing through those in the Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale and finally moving in a northeast direction listing the churches in the Quarter of Serancia. Three churches of the Quarter of Serancia are inserted into the part of the list dedicated to the Quarter of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale, however the churches remain grouped in order of geographical proximity. Sant'Anastasia appears between San Giovanni in Vetere and 'ecclesia et monasterium San Ludovici', which means that its geographic position in the city must have been somewhere between these two churches, right at the border of the Quarters of Santi Giovanni e Giovenale and Serancia (Figs. 175, 176).

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<sup>36</sup> Both Carpentier and Riccetti were well aware of the existence of Sant'Anastasia, but apparently were unsure of its location. Carpentier on the other hand appears to not have known of the church of Santa Margherita, which does not appear in Pardi's studies of the 1292 *Catasto* either and may indicate that the church appeared after this date. Carpentier (1986), pp.37, 39, n.95; Riccetti (1987), p.XVIII. Satolli gives references of date and location for the church of Santa Margherita. Satolli (1983), p.141, n.105. The church was being maintained by the 'Università dei Camparoli (?)' at the beginning of the seventeenth century according to Giacomo Coelli. *Memorie Storiche di Orvieto. Copiate da un manoscritto del Sig. Giacomo Coelli vissuto nell'anno 1634*, Manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale di Orvieto, coll. XIV-0-76.

<sup>37</sup> Riccetti (1987), p.XVII; Carpentier (1986), p.37.

<sup>38</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.46-47, doc.2.2.97.

Map III. Churches in Orvieto at the end of the 13th –beginning of 14th century.



The church of Santa Margherita was close to that of San Domenico and must have been of some significance considering the road in front of it bore the same name: «...*strata sancte Margherite, ante ipsam ecclesiam sancte Margherite*».<sup>1</sup> The fact that the church is not named by either Pardi or Carpentier in their research of the 1292 *catasto* suggests that the church of Santa Margherita did not exist at the time. In the mid-fourteenth century document issued by the Commune listing the churches which were to receive donations of candle wax, Santa Margherita appears listed between San Domenico and Sant'Antonio and therefore is likely to have been located on the border of the Quarters of Santa Pace and Postierla.<sup>2</sup>

The church of Sant'Antonio is also regularly overlooked by historians studying Orvieto.<sup>3</sup> An «*Ecclesia sancti Antonii*» was taxed in the 1292 *catasto* and two documents issued by the Commune in 1342 and 1343 list Sant'Antonio amongst the churches to receive «*elemosina*»...«*pro fabrica ipsius ecclesie*».<sup>4</sup> A copy of an Orvietan manuscript, now in the Biblioteca Comunale of Orvieto names Saint Anthony Abbot as the *titulus* of the church.<sup>5</sup> Piccolomini-Adami's late nineteenth description of what remained of the community once belonging to the Abbey of Sant'Antonio in Rome, states that the ruined complex consisted of a church, a monastery and a hospital.<sup>6</sup> As only the church was taxed in the 1292 census, it is probable that the community was of modest size at the end of the thirteenth century and that it was expanding towards the middle of the fourteenth century when it received donations from the Commune for construction work.<sup>7</sup> Although the only date for Sant'Antonio mentioned by Piccolomini-Adami is 1493, the position of its entry in his guidebook, after the church of Sant'Egidio, the confraternity of San Domenico and the Dominican convent of San Pietro leaves little doubt that its author is referring to the same Sant'Antonio in the document issued by the Commune of Orvieto on 17 August 1350, where it appears

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<sup>1</sup> The reference to Santa Margherita is in the 'Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manenti' in 1313. Satolli (1983), p.141, n.105; Fumi, RISS, Tomo XV, Part V, vol.1, p.351.

<sup>2</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.46-47.

<sup>3</sup> Carpentier does not mention the church of Sant'Antonio. Pardi lists it as one of the churches taxed in the *catasto*, which indicates that it existed by 1292. Pardi (1896), p.264.

<sup>4</sup> These two documents dated 17 February 1342 and 20 March 1343 were not the only contributions from the Commune given to the church of Sant'Antonio, however they are unique in specifying that the money was to be given to the rector of Sant'Antonio to build his church. Rossi Manaresi and Riccetti (1987), pp.40-41, doc. 2.2.86, 2.2.88.

<sup>5</sup> D.Gaetano Majoli, *Descrizione istorica della città, pozzo e Duomo di Orvieto*, manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale of Orvieto (a copy of the original which was destroyed on 6 June 1944).

<sup>6</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.232.

<sup>7</sup> Riccetti claims that the church of Sant'Antonio was not built until the 1340's. Riccetti (1992), p.173, n.314.



listed after San Pietro and Sant'Egidio.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, although it is likely that the fourteenth-century church was located at the same site as the church named in the 1292 census, I have found no decisive evidence to support this.

Pardi lists the hospital of San Giacomo among the list of religious institutions mentioned in the 1292 *catasto* of Orvieto.<sup>9</sup> A will dated 3 July 1253 confirms that the hospital was active in the mid thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Perali cites documentation of 1324 and 1330 recording a *Porta San Giacomo* in the north of the *rione di San Matteo* which was named after a “church and hospital” located in that suburb.<sup>11</sup>

### The Guglielmite Order in Orvieto

Close to *Porta San Giacomo* was the Church of San Giovenale, which at the end of the thirteenth century was administered by the Guglielmites (Fig. 177). The Guglielmite cult developed soon after the death of its founder Guglielmo di Malavalle in the diocese of Grosseto in 1157. Promoted by bishop Martino da Grosseto, the cult spread throughout the diocese of Orvieto in the period 1174 to 1181. One of the first Guglielmite monasteries, San Guglielmo d'Acerona was established in Orvietan territory, between San Casciano and Aquapendent on the border of the diocese of Orvieto and Chiusi. In 1237 pope Gregory IX transferred the rundown Orvietan monastery of Santa Maria di Mazzapalu, previously administered by the Benedictine order, to the Guglielmites. Guglielmite wealth in the Orvietan diocese increased later in the century when the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Pietro in Aquaorta ceded the institution to the Guglielmite order in the hope that it would be able to regain its past splendours. The parish church of San Giovenale in Orvieto was administered by the abbey of San Pietro in Aquaorta, and therefore passed into Guglielmite hands in 1279 when the abbey converted to Guglielmite rule. Elm writes that despite the order's efforts to meet the parish needs of «*cura animarum*» at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Guglielmites quickly lost power over the parish and the rights of the abbey over the parish were reduced to very limited consultation.

Elm's research effectively curtails Satolli's widely accepted hypothesis that the Guglielmites and Augustinians cohabited in the church and monastery of San Giovenale prior to the bull issued by pope Alexander IV on 9 April 1256, authorising the

<sup>8</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.232; Rossi Manaresi and Riccetti (1987), p.46.

<sup>9</sup> Pardi (1896), p.263.

<sup>10</sup> Rossi Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), p.72, doc.2.5.8.

<sup>11</sup> Perali (1979), p.12.

formation of the Augustinian order. The hermit order of San Guglielmo, which was not given pastoral rights over its parish churches until pope Boniface VIII conceded them in 1295, was not therefore present in the church and monastery of San Giovenale in Orvieto from the early years of the twelfth century, but from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, when it was able to exercise only limited power over its parish until early into the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

### Urbanisation of the Mendicant orders

The religious orders' urban occupation of thirteenth-century Orvieto can be divided into two distinct moments determined by the mendicant orders' strategic decision to abandon their satellite sites in suburbia for more centralised locations within the city walls. The appearance of the mendicants on the city scene resulted in a redistribution of pre-existent city church allocations and diminished the political sway enjoyed by the monastic orders already present on the plateau. Prior to this mendicant move the monastic orders who administered ecclesiastic property in the city did so from their suburban monastic bases. The mendicant orders reversed the monastic strategy by making their city foundation structures their primary quarters, giving them more direct access to governing institutions. Any rural resources they accumulated were then managed as satellite branches from these urban headquarters. Early thirteenth-century documentary sources show that initially the Commune of Orvieto needed to be prompted by the papacy to assume a supportive role of sponsorship towards the first mendicant institutions.<sup>13</sup>

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the Commune had accepted this role and was one of the religious institutions' primary supporters, committing itself to annual donations of both candle wax and money.<sup>14</sup> Evidently the mendicant orders had also decided to make good use of the Commune's sense of responsibility if on 25 September 1311 the prior of the convent of Santa Maria in Carmelo felt it appropriate to present a petition to the Commune requesting funds for a bell, which the Carmelite brothers could not afford to finance on their own.<sup>15</sup> This is just one of the many requests presented by the mendicant orders to the Commune at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

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<sup>12</sup> K. Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens* (Köln/Graz, Böhlau 1962), pp.35, 97; Satolli (1968), pp.11-14; Riccetti (1987), p.XVIII.

<sup>13</sup> See p.135, n.26 of this Chapter.

<sup>14</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.14-64.

<sup>15</sup> *"Il capitano del Popolo... propone la petizione presentata dal« prior et conventus fratrum S. Marie Carmelitarum de Urbeveteri»; vi si informa il consiglio che la chiesa abbisogna di una campana che «ad*

Table D. Ecclesiastic orders and their urban property in thirteenth century Orvieto.

Religious institutions and their urban property		Urban property belonging to Mendicants	
Cathedral Chapter	Cathedral of Santa Maria della Stella		
Cathedral Chapter	Hospital of Santa Maria		
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of San Costanzo	Franciscan friars	Church of Santi Ambrogio di Massa e San Francesco (1266)
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of San Salvatore	Franciscan friars	Hospital of San Francesco
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of San Lorenzo <i>degli Arari</i>	Franciscan friars	Parish church of San Lorenzo <i>degli Arari</i> (1291)
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of San Cristoforo	Poor Clares	Church of Santa Chiara (1299)
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of San Leonardo	Poor Clares	Convent of San Lodovico (1327)
Cathedral Chapter	Parish church of Santo Stefano		
Cathedral Chapter	Church of San Giuliano		
Cathedral Chapter	Church of Sant'Anastasia		
Cathedral Chapter	Church of San Bartolomeo		
Premonstratensian	Parish church of Sant'Angelo		
Premonstratensian	Hospital of Sant'Angelo	Servite friars	Church of Santa Maria de' Servi (1268)
Premonstratensian	Parish church of San Martino	Servite friars	Parish church of San Martino (1520) <sup>16</sup>
Premonstratensian	Church of Santa Lucia	Augustinian friars	Church of Santa Lucia later incorporated in the Augustine Convent (1260)
Premonstratensian	Monastery of Santa Cecilia	Augustinian friars	Hospital of Sant'Agostino <sup>17</sup>
Benedictine/Guglielmite	Parish church of San Giovenale	Augustinian nuns	Convent of Santa Maria Maddalena (1286)
Benedictine/Guglielmite	Hospital of San Giovenale (?)		
Benedictine Monks of Sassovivo near Foligno	Parish church of Sant'Egidio		
Benedictine Monks of Sassovivo near Foligno	Parish church of Santa Croce		
Benedictine	Monastery of Sant'Agnese	Dominican friars	Church of San Domenico (1264)
Benedictine	Monastery of San Pancrazio	Dominican nuns	Church and convent(?) of San Pietro (1303)
Monks of San Paolo di Roma	Monastery of San Paolo	Dominican nuns	Monastery of San Paolo (1289/1303)
Regular Lateran Canons	Parish church of San Giovanni <i>in Vetere</i>		
Regular Lateran Canons	Hospital of San Giovanni <i>in Vetere</i>		

*horas debitas possit pulsare»; non avendo i frati i soldi sufficienti per comprarla, confidano in un'elemosina del comune.* "Il consiglio eroga un'elemosina di 25 lib." Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.21, doc.2.2.29.

<sup>16</sup> R.M. Fagioli, *La chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi in Orvieto. Parrocchia di San Martino* (Todi 2003), p.93.

<sup>17</sup> The administration of the hospital was later assumed by the hospital of Santa Maria. Satolli (1968), p.11; G.Bartolozzi, *Inventario dei beni mobili e stalli della chiesa di S. Giovenale*, Manoscritto del 1855, Archivio Vescovile Orvietano, p.17

Religious institutions and their urban property cont.		Urban property belonging to Mendicants cont.	
Hospitallers of San Jacopo of Altopascio	Hospital of San Jacopo	Carmelite friars	Santa Maria de' Carmelo (1312)
Hospitallers of San Jacopo of Altopascio	Chapel of San Jacopo		

The Franciscan order was the first mendicant order to arrive in Orvieto. A document from the Episcopal archives records their arrival during the bishopric of Capitaneo (1213-1228), who gave them the suburban church of San Pietro in Vetere in concession.<sup>18</sup> The Dominican order followed close behind and took up residence in the city only a few years later on the opposite side of the city to the church of Santa Maria della Polzella, the future site of the Franciscan convent.<sup>19</sup> Members of the Augustinian order were present in Orvieto from the beginning of the century.<sup>20</sup> Pope Alexander IV founded the order of the Augustinian Hermits in 1256. Prior to this the Augustinian hermits had bought the church of Santa Lucia from the Premonstratensians in 1255, where they moved in 1260.<sup>21</sup> The Servites already resided in Orvieto by 1259 and were given the suburban San Pietro *in Vetere*, at one time occupied by the Franciscans, by bishop Giacomo of Orvieto on 27 September 1260.<sup>22</sup> They continued to live in their suburban premises until pope Clement IV intervened in 1265 on their behalf in negotiations with the Premonstratensian monks for land in the parish of San Martino to build an oratory and house within the city walls (Fig. 178).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> «De S. Petro in Vetera qui erat plas havebat episcopatus oblationes duobus feriis post Pasca, sed dominus episcopus Capitaneus ipsam ecclesiam fratribus Minoribus concessit qui eam subtrahivit. Ranerius.» Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.184, doc.7.2.3.

<sup>19</sup> Riccetti suggests that the Dominicans arrived in 1230 and lived in an abode «sive domunculam sive hospitium», before adopting the parish church of Santa Pace as their headquarters. Riccetti (1987), p.XXI, Masetti (1864), pp. 183, 198.

<sup>20</sup> The fact that *frate Cittadino dell'ordine di Sant'Agostino*, who was prior of the church of San Giovanni «de Platea», worked alongside bishop Ranieri of Orvieto and bishop Guglielmino of Soana on gathering the necessary information for the sanctification of the Franciscan friar Ambrogio di Massa after his death in 1240, clearly illustrates the esteem held for the Augustinians in Orvieto by the middle of the thirteenth century. Fumi (1884), p.200.

<sup>21</sup> Satolli (1968), p.15; Riccetti (1987), p.XXV, n.73.

<sup>22</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.190, doc. 7.3.17; M. Boskovits, *A Corpus of Florentine Painting. The Origins of Florentine Painting*, Section I, vol. I (Florence 1993), pp.762, 769.

<sup>23</sup> «Clemens episcopus etc. abati et conventui sancti Severi urbevetane etc. Ad pietatis opera exercenda... tanto vos libentius invitamus quanto vos ad illam inveniri credimus promptiores. Hinc est quod cum, sicut dilecti filii fratres Servorum sancte Marie urbevetane nobis significare curarunt, quamdam terram poitam in parrochia ecclesie sancti Martini urbevetane ad vestrum monasterium spectantis, ut dicitur, emerunt pro quamdam pecunie quantitate, universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus et hortamur attente, per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes, quatenus cum ipsi fratres in dicta terra velint oratorium et habitationem pro se construere, ut possint divina officia celebrare, maxime cum sint parati cavere in preiudicium vestrum parochianos ipsius ecclesie non admittere ad ecclesiastica sacramenta, eisdem fratribus super hoc ob reverentiam apostolice sedis et nostram non inferatis impedimentum aliquod vel gravamen, ita quod ipsi in loco illo pacem et quietem obtineant et vos exinde a Domino retributionis eterne dulcedinem consequi valeatis.

Finally in 1308 the Carmelites asked for a donation from the Commune to help construct their church, which began in 1312 (Fig. 179). The church was still incomplete in 1326 when the friars asked the Commune for a donation to conclude the building.<sup>24</sup> The friars continued to reside in «*burgo Civitatis*» until at least 1327 according to documentary sources.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, little to nothing remains of any works of art commissioned for the church of Santa Maria del Carmine; however in a document cited by Milanesi we encounter the Carmelite prior fra' Bartholomeo Ritii involved in payment for the magnificent reliquary of the Corporal in the Cathedral of Orvieto by the Sienese goldsmith Ugolino di Vieri, illustrating that the Carmelite order was playing an important role in the city's affairs as early as 1337.<sup>26</sup>

### Religious Institutions situated outside the City Walls

The countryside beyond the city gates was also scattered with monasteries and ecclesiastic communities. Directly outside the city walls to the south of the city lay the powerful Premonstratensian monastery of Santi Severo and Martirio, which until the middle of the thirteenth century administered the three urban churches of Sant'Angelo, San Martino and Santa Lucia, in addition to its female monastery Santa Cecilia (Map III, Figs. 166, 167, 187).<sup>27</sup> The rural perimeter southwest of the city was densely populated with monasteries and convents.<sup>28</sup> The abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio was strategically located on the main road leading to Montefiascone and Bagnoregio (Fig.

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*Detum Perusii SIV kal. Mai, pontificatus nostri anno primo.*» R.M. Fagioli (2003), pp.103-104; *Annales dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, vol.1 (Lucca 1719-1725), p.95.

<sup>24</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.19, doc. 2.2.18; 22, doc.2.2.32; 30-31, doc.2.2.58.

<sup>25</sup> Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp. 29-30, doc.2.2.55; 32, doc.2.2.63.

<sup>26</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Louise Bourdua for kindly allowing me to read her preparatory notes for a paper on artists and artisans belonging to religious orders in the Middle Ages for this reference. «*Trecentos octuaginta tres flor et dimidium flor: auri solvit cam: fratri Bartholomeo Ritii, nunc priori fratrum capituli, et conventus loci sancte Marie de Monte Carmelo de civitate Urbevetana, procuratori magistri Ugolini aurificis filli magistri Veri, civis civitatis Sen: de populo sancti Petri Castri Veteris – qui frater Bartholomeus fecit finem, et refutationem camer: Operis ecclesie sancte Marie de Urbevetere de dictis tercentis octuaginat trius flor: et dimidium de summa quingentorum septuaginta quator flor: et dimidii flor: -quos habere debebat dictus magister Ugolinus a dicto opere.*» G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, 3 vols (Siena 1854), I, p.212.

<sup>27</sup> Their urban property was reduced to two churches in 1255, when the monks sold the church of Santa Lucia to the Augustinians. Satolli (1968), p.17.

<sup>28</sup> These slopes leading down from the *Alfina* plains down to the valley below Orvieto were known for their torrents of water which powered the watermills located in the zone. The abundance of water in the area was likely to have been a primary attraction for the religious orders in itself and the close proximity to the mills was a logistical bonus. A document dated 6 April 1297 records the Rivo Chiaro as having powered watermills for years: «... *cum a tempore cuius memoria non existit molendina existentia in Rivo Claro consueverint habere aquam que veniebat per contrata Sualtoli*». Carpentier (1986), p.272, n.23; Riccetti (1992), p.137, n.208; Fumi (1884), pp.187-188, 246; Archivio Statale Orvietano, *Rif.*, 70/II, c. 25r.

180).<sup>29</sup> To its west lay the monastery of San Bernardo, now the current site of the Cappuccini convent, and the monastery of San Gregorio *Sualto*.<sup>30</sup> Further west, a series of monasteries were clustered along the road leading out of Orvieto towards Bolsena. This road led out of the city past the suburban regions of San Matteo, San Faustino and Sant'Angelo Subripa. Perched high on the northern side of the road was the monastery of San Giorgio and just before the *Ponte del Rivo Chiaro* on the south side of the road was San Pietro *in Veteris*, which housed both the Franciscan and the Servite orders when they arrived in Orvieto.<sup>31</sup> In the hills beyond the bridge were situated the Poor Clares convent San Lorenzo *in Vineis*, the monastery of San Paolo Vecchio, the Armenian monks' monastery of Santo Spirito and the Cistercian nuns at Santa Trinità (Figs. 181, 182, 183, 184).<sup>32</sup> The Templars were located further north at the crossing of the river Romealla on the road which led to Chiusi (Figs. 185, 186).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The Abbey church was constructed on the site of a church dedicated to San Silvestro, which was of pre-sixth century foundation. Riccetti (1987), p.XVIII; Perali (1979), pp.17-58; B. Moroni, *Raccolte delle memorie storiche dell'Abbazia dei SS. Severo e Martirio in Orvieto* (Orvieto 1822), manuscript in Archivio Vescovile Orvietano.

<sup>30</sup> Fumi identifies the monastery of San Bernardo with the Cappuccini residence in an entry dated 1345 of the Orvietan chronicle *Discorso Historico degli accidenti di Orvieto*. Piccolomini-Adami claims that before it was acquired from Orvieto for the Cappuccini in 1551, San Bernardo once belonged to the Cistercian order. After which it was used as a hospital by the Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio for some time. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.281; Muratori, *RISS*, 1, p.9, n.2. A bull issued by Pietro Peregrasso, cardinal deacon of San Giorgio al Velo d'oro confirmed the union of the monks of San Gregorio of *Subalto* to the Cistercian monastery of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata on 3 June 1250. Two documents from Codex C of the Archivio Vescovile Orvietano dated May and December 1256 mention the monks from the monastery of San Gregorio *Sualto* in a disagreement «circa diritti di obbedienza» between the Cistercian Abbey of San Salvatore on Monte Amiata and the Dominican bishop of Orvieto, Constantino de' Medici (1250-1257). A donation of property in Orvieto was made by Gaetanum (Cistercian?) monk from the monastery of San Gregorio and notary presumably to pope Martin IV and recorded on 27 October 1283. What remains of the monastery has been transformed into a farmhouse known as *podere S. Gregorio o podere Paolone*. Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.190, doc. 7.3.12, 7.3.13; Riccetti (1992), pp.264, doc.IX, 278, n.42. Perali claims that the monastery was founded by pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) but gives no reference. P.Perali, 'L'acquedotto medievale orvietano', in *La città costruita. Lavori pubblici e immagine in Orvieto medievale*, ed. by L. Riccetti (Firenze 1992), p.249; Fumi (1884), p.185, doc.CCLXXXIII.

<sup>31</sup> The monastery of San Giorgio was one of the oldest monasteries in Orvieto and was mentioned alongside the Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio in a letter dated 590 from pope Gregory the Great to bishop Giovanni of Orvieto. It was still in existence in 1314 as it was named in the list of Orvietan churches to receive donations of candle wax from the Commune to celebrate its titular saint's feast day. Rossi Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), p.23, doc.2.2.36; Riccetti (1992), p.101, n.76. Bishop Capitaneo (1213-1228) gave the church of San Pietro in Vetere to the Franciscans who resided there from c.1227. The Servite order occupied the same church after bishop Giacomo Maltraga (1257-1269) gave them the property in 1260. The Servite friars resided there until 1265. Caponeri e Riccetti (1987), pp. 105, 184, 190, 205, doc.7.2.3, 7.3.17, 10.1; Riccetti (1987), pp.XIX, XXV-XXVII.

<sup>32</sup> A will dated 12 August 1222 leaves a vineyard located «...in pertinentiis S. Laurentii intervineas», indicating that the church existed by the beginning of the thirteenth century and predates the construction to before the arrival of the Poor Clares in Orvieto circa 1232. Riccetti (1987), p.XXI, 71, doc. 2.5.1. Only the faintest of traces has remained of the monastery of San Paolo Vecchio. In 1297 work was performed on the road «qua itur ad S. Valentinum de Petra Amata videlicet a vinea S. Pauli usque ad ecclesiam S. Valentini». The document also clearly refers to the church of San Valentino situated within close range. An «Ecclesia sancti Valentini» is cited by Pardi as one of the churches in the property census of 1292. «Ecclesia sancti Pauli» also appears on the same list, however it may refer to the church which was part

of the monastery of San Paolo in the Quarter of Postierla, referred to as «*Monasterium sancti Pauli*» in the same list. The local people of Orvieto continue to landmark areas along the road which today is known as 'strada del Tamburino' (in the past 'strada di Petrorio') leading towards Bolsena with the names: San Paolo vecchio and San Valentino, probably in reference to the churches which were once sited there. Riccetti (1992), p.136; Pardi (1896), pp.263-264; Archivio Statale Orvietano, *Rif.*, 70, loose leaves, c. 4v (the document is not dated, however Riccetti dates it to 1297). On 3 January 1288 bishop Francesco blessed the foundation stone of the Armenian monks new church of Santo Spirito. Riccetti (1992), p.193, doc. 7.3.40. Piccolomini-Adami cites an inscription found in the Archivio Vescovile Orvietano dating the event to 10 February of the same year:

«*IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN. ANNO NATIVITATIS EJUSDEM MILLESIMO DUCENTESIMO OCTUAGESIMO INDICTIONE VIII, APOSTOLICA SEDE VACANTE, MENSE FEBRUARII DIE DECIMA.*

*CUM FRATER PETRUS DE ARMINIA CUPERET, UT ASSEREBAT, QUAMDAM ECCLESIAM IN HONOREM S. SPIRITUS JUXTA VIAM QUA ITUR AD MONTEM FLASCONEM IN CONTRATAVINEARUM MONASTERII S. LAURENTII HAEDIFICARE DE NOVO SPONTE, ET VOLUNTATE PROPRIA DICTAM ECCLESIAM, IN DUABUS LIBRIS CERAE IN FESTO ASSUMPTIONIS B. MARIAE ANNIS SINGULIS PERSOLVENDIS VENERALBILI PATRI DOMINO FRANCISCO DEI, ET APOSTOLICAE SEDIS GRATIA EJUSQUE SUCCESSORIBUS AC EPISCOPATUI URBIETANO CONSTITUIT CENSUALEM. IDEMQUE DOMINUS EPISCOPUS ACCENDENS AD LOCUM PERSONALITER PRIMUM LAPIDEM MANIUS PROPRIIS POSUIT IN FUNDAMENTO ECCLESIAE CONSTRUENDAE, PRAESENTIBUS DOMINO THEODORICO PRIORE S. ANDRAEAE, PRAESBITER. PETRO SIGNORELLI CAPELLANO EJUSDEM ECCLESIAE, DOMINO STEPHANO ABATE ET PRAEPOSITO MONASTERII MONTIS URBISV. TESTIB. ET EGO NICOLAUS DE GUARCINO AUCTORITATE SEDIS APOSTOL. PUBLICUS NOTARIUS ETC.»*

Piccolomini-Adami's states that the same bishop gave the 'old' pre-existent church of Santo Spirito to the nuns of Sant'Agnese unfortunately the author does not cite his documentary source. A partially legible inscription on the front of the church began «*\* IST. EST ECCLESIA SCI. SPIRITUS, OSPITALE FRATRE ERMINIO...*», testifying there was once a hospital annexed to the monastery. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp.278-280. Within close vicinity to the Cistercian monastery of San Gregorio, the female Cistercian monastery of Santa Trinità was founded and paid for by John of Toledo, cardinal bishop of Porto (1262-1275), presumably soon after 14 July 1264 when he preached the crusade against the Saracens in Orvieto. It is likely that the cardinal paid for the restoration of a monastery of the same name on the same site, which at the beginning of the thirteenth century was in a ruined state and belonged to the Benedictine nuns. In fact an Orvietan monastery dedicated to Santa Trinità is mentioned in the papal documents of both Gregory IX and Innocent IV. Satolli (1983), p.136; R.Valentini, 'Il convento della Trinità presso Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.* (1946), pp.1-2; *Annales Urbevetani* in Muratori, *RISS*, 1, p.155; Fumi (1884), p.397; Berger, *Reg.Inn.IV*, 53. The Convent of Santa Trinità was in disrepair at the beginning of the thirteenth century but was rebuilt by the cistercian cardinal, John of Toledo between 1262 and 1275, probably shortly after he preached the Crusade against the Saracens in Orvieto on 14 July 1264. The cardinal built a monastery and church, and donated them together with the surrounding property to a community of Cistercian nuns. R. Valentini, 'Il convento della Trinità presso Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.* (1946), pp.1-2.

<sup>33</sup> The Templar church of San Marco is first mentioned in a document in the Episcopal Archive of Orvieto dated 1287. In a bull signed in Orvieto and dated 3 March 1291, pope Nicholas IV forbids the Templars at San Marco from receiving excommunicated citizens in the church or receiving their offerings. In 1300 work was being performed on the road known as the *Strada di San Marco* because it ran past the church of the same name: «*via a domo ecclesie S. Marchi de valle qua itur Petrorium...*». Finally the church was named in the orders given by the inquisitors to their legates to place notices on the doors of all the cathedrals, communal palaces and Templar churches of the region of Tuscia Longobarda informing they were under inquisition. B. Capone, L. Imperio, E. Valentini, *Guida all'Italia dei Templari. Gli insediamenti templari in Italia* (Rome 1989), pp.167-168; Riccetti (1992), pp.135-136; Archivio Vescovile Orvietano, *Cod. C*, c. 97v; Archivio Statale Orvietano, *Rif.*, 71/III, c. 117v-118r, 1300 ago.22.

*Table E. Thirteenth-century Religious Institutions immediately outside the City Walls*

<i>Religious Institution</i>	<i>Resident order in 13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Documented from</i>
Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio	Premonstratensian monks	6 <sup>th</sup> century
Monastery of San Giorgio ( <i>Jorio</i> )	-	6 <sup>th</sup> century
Monastery of San Gregorio <i>Sualto</i>	Cistercian Monks	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Monastery of San Bernardo	Cistercian Monks	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Santa Trinità	Cistercian nuns	13 <sup>th</sup> century
San Pietro <i>in Vetere</i>	Franciscan/Servite friars	13 <sup>th</sup> century
San Lorenzo <i>in Vineis</i>	Franciscan nuns	13 <sup>th</sup> century
San Paolo Vecchio	-	13 <sup>th</sup> century
San Valentino	-	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Santo Spirito	Armenian monks	end of 13 <sup>th</sup> century
San Marco	Templars	end of 13 <sup>th</sup> century

### The Hospitality Industry and Religious Institutions

The viability of the roads leading past these rural ecclesiastic communities was of primary interest to them, to the extent that the Premonstratensian monks were personally involved in building the roads leading south from Orvieto in the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The Hospitallers of San Jacopo provided lodgings for pilgrims, however road maintenance was also among their responsibilities (Fig. 163).<sup>35</sup> The foundation inscription of the church of Santo Spirito intimates that its hospital was built for the same purpose (Figs. 183, 184).<sup>36</sup> The Armenian monks' monastery would have been remarkably attractive to pilgrims arriving in the late afternoon or evening from Montefiascone or Bolsena to visit the reliquary of the Corporal. Santo Spirito was the first monastery these travellers came across on the descent into the valley towards the last steep climb up to the plateau on which the city of Orvieto perched (Fig. 188). Possibly the Armenian monks were providing a much needed service as Santo Spirito appeared a good twenty years after both the Franciscan and Servite orders, who also probably offered hospitality, had abandoned their initial residence at San Pietro *in*

<sup>34</sup> Riccetti (1992), p.135.

<sup>35</sup> A well kept road was also essential for these religious institutions in order to maintain contact with their rural properties, which lay predominantly to the south of Orvieto in the case of the Premonstratensian Abbey. The Hospital of Santa Maria owned satellite hospitals in the Val di Chiana on the road to Florence near Chianciano, at Lubriano near Bagnoregio and a Leper colony on the road to Città della Pieve where it crossed the river Chiana. Mancini (1994-2001), pp.146, 148.

<sup>36</sup> The inscription clearly specifies the "...church in honour of Santo Spirito next to the via which led to Montefiascone..." showing that its position on the road was of crucial importance. See pp.153-154, n.100 of this Chapter for the complete inscription.



*Vetere* further down the same road.<sup>37</sup> Table E illustrates the religious orders' sharp increase in interest in owning property in Orvieto in the thirteenth century. It may also be read as an indication of far greater mobility in passage to or past the city as a thirteenth century phenomenon.

*Table F. Thirteenth- and early Fourteenth-Century Hospitals in Orvieto*

Hospital	Administration
Hospital of Santa Maria	Cathedral chapter/Hospitallers of San Jacopo
Hospital of San Matteo	Cathedral chapter
Hospital of San Giacomo	?
Hospital of Sant'Angelo in Pusterula	Premonstratensian
Hospital of San Giovanni	Lateran canons
Hospital of Sant'Antonio	?
Hospital of San Francesco	Franciscan
Hospital of San Domenico	Dominican
Hospital of San Nicola	Augustinian
Hospital of Santo Spirito	Armenian monks
Hospital of Sant'Ursola <sup>38</sup>	?

Unfortunately there are no documents specifying the activity of the mendicant orders when they first arrived in Orvieto, however it is not unlikely that they too performed maintenance work on the roads and bridges leading to Orvieto.<sup>39</sup> The position of their church San Pietro *in Vetere* was strategically located at "...a distance of about one hundred metres" from the *Ponte del Sole* over the river *Chiaro* on the road leading south to Bolsena (Fig. 188).<sup>40</sup> The promise of profit from toll collection may explain the Templar order's decision to build its house next to the river *Romealla*, where a bridge *Ponte Rivi Mealle* was located according to a source dated 1300 (Fig.

<sup>37</sup> Riccetti suggests that the friars provided assistance in the hospitals of Orvieto, it is possible they also gave shelter to weary travellers and pilgrims, who like themselves had renounced their worldly possessions in imitation of the apostles, making their way north from Rome to Orvieto. Riccetti (1987), p.XX.

<sup>38</sup> Sant'Ursola is also known in the documents as Sant'Orsola and is included in Riccetti's map of fourteenth century urban churches in Orvieto. Leoni cites Mancini claiming that a hospital of Sant'Ursola did exist in late medieval Orvieto. Riccetti (1992), p.178; Leoni (1994-2001), p.196; T. Mancini, 'L'assistenza ospedaliera nel Medioevo. Il caso di Santa Maria della Stella di Orvieto' (Degree dissertation, Università La Sapienza di Roma, 1995-1996), pp.138-140.

<sup>39</sup> Evidently the Franciscan order refused charity at the beginning of their existence, preferring to work for their keep. The Commune of Orvieto's evident support of the order, exemplified in its immediate exemption of San Pietro *in Vetere* from having to pay the *decime*, may have extended to providing employment for the order, a charitable act from which all involved would have benefited. Riccetti (1987), p.XX; B. Pullan, 'Poveri mendicanti e vagabondi', in *Storia dell'Italia, Annali I* (Turin 1978), pp.981-1047.

<sup>40</sup> Perali (1979), p.29.

186).<sup>41</sup> The road the Templars were situated on, continued on towards the *Ponte di Mastro Ianne* over the river *Paglia*, which was a crucial point of crossing for travellers in voyage from north to south (or vice versa) through the State of Orvieto in the late thirteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

### Religious Institutions and Religious Processions

Although Orvieto could not match Florence's 55 neighbourhood chapels, 5 large male monasteries, 24 convents of nuns, 10 houses of mendicants and some 30 hospitals, the city certainly did not lack religious institutions (Map III).<sup>43</sup> Referring to the tables in this chapter, Orvieto could count 48 churches within the city walls, including the chapel of San Jacopo in the Hospital of Santa Maria, the cathedral and all parish, convent and monastery churches, 11 religious institutions directly outside the city walls and 9 hospitals. I have also included the churches of unknown location, Sant'Ansano, San Savino, Santa Angustiola and San Manno, in this census. All these churches were in existence before the 1320s. Piccolomini-Adami lists the churches within the walls of Orvieto in his guidebook of 1883. The author claims that according to the *Riformagioni* on 17 August 1350, there were 41 churches within the city walls and a total of 60 churches in Orvieto counting those located in the district.<sup>44</sup>

The Orvieto cathedral chapter consisted of an archpriest, an archdeacon and nine canons in 1290, just over half the size of the thirteenth-century chapters in Parma, which in 1230 could count 17 canons; Padua in 1297 had 21; Ferrara in 1300, 18 and in Vicenza, which in 1297 had 17.<sup>45</sup> Religious feast days and processions in Orvieto, such as that of Santa Maria Assunta (established 1288) or that of the Corpus Domini (established 1337), must have been manageable, but impressive affairs.<sup>46</sup> Thompson

<sup>41</sup> «via a domo ecclesie S. Marchi de valle qua itur Petrorium que alias vendita fuit per syndicum Communis Urbis veteris adjacentibus claudatur et clausa servatur ad hoc ut per stratam comunis a ponte Rivi Mealle». Riccetti (1992), p.136, n.202; Archivio Statale Orvietano, Rif., 71/III, c.117v-118r, 1300 ago. 22.

<sup>42</sup> The *Ponte di Mastro Ianne* crossed the river *Paglia* at a point about five kilometres north of Orvieto. In his will drawn up in Orvieto on 3 July 1253, Ranerio Giovanni Fumi left a donation for «*Pontis magistri Iannis*», the same donation was left to various churches and hospitals in Orvieto. The testament demonstrates just how important a construction a bridge was in the mid-thirteenth century. Riccetti (1992), pp. 72, doc.2.5.8, 140.

<sup>43</sup> Giovanni Villani wrote of the glories of Florence in 1340. Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, (Rome 1980), I:658.

<sup>44</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.184; Thompson (2005), p.42.

<sup>45</sup> Natalini (1955), p.208; Thompson (2005), p.47.

<sup>46</sup> W. Valentini, *La insigne collegiata dei SS. Bartolomeo e Andrea di Orvieto. Documenti e note* (Orvieto 1920), p.5; G. Freni, 'The reliquary of the Holy Corporal in the cathedral of Orvieto: patronage and politics', *Art, Politics and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261-1352*, ed. by J. Cannon and B. Williamson (Cambridge 2000), p.124; Riccetti (1992), p.176.

writes that medieval religious processions not only expressed the subordination and hierarchy of the religious institutions involved, but also served to confirm the neighbourhood chapels identity and dignity.<sup>47</sup> Certainly in the case of the Corpus Domini procession, in which the precious reliquary of the corporal was carried out from the cathedral and paraded before a large number of the churches in Orvieto, this dynamic is clearly illustrated (Fig. 129).<sup>48</sup> The procession took place the Sunday following Pentecost and would have been accompanied by much bell ringing and burning of candles in the churches involved.<sup>49</sup>

Reflections of these religious rituals and their political connotations can still be discerned in what has remained of Orvieto's late medieval art and architecture. It is interesting to observe the notably isolated use of alabaster to fill the window frames in only the cathedral and the collegiate church of Sant'Andrea (Fig. 189). Sant'Andrea, the 'official church of the medieval Commune', and the cathedral, dedicated to Santa Maria Assunta, were the only two churches involved in the city procession dedicated to the titular saint of its cathedral (Figs. 6, 25).<sup>50</sup> In this midsummer ritual the Episcopal seat acknowledged the Commune by carrying the wooden panel painting of the Madonna di Santa Maria out of the cathedral and housing it in Sant'Andrea the evening before the Eve of the Assumption, where it rested for the night before being ceremoniously returned to the cathedral the next day.<sup>51</sup> Although no specific documentation refers to it,

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<sup>47</sup> Thompson (2005), p.150.

<sup>48</sup> The route of the Procession of the Corpus Domini and that of the Processione of Santa Maria Assunta which clearly shows all the churches passed is described in Riccetti's map 'Le processioni e la città'. Riccetti (1992), p.178.

<sup>49</sup> It is curious to note, considering the unusual correspondence of artistic techniques and materials used on the facades of the Venetian Communal Basilica of San Marco and cathedral of Orvieto, that the Corpus Christi had been celebrated in Venice "under the auspices of the *consiglio*" from 1295. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge 1991), p.258; Thompson (2005), p.7.

<sup>50</sup> Valentini (1920), p.3. Five of the 25 communal documents cited by Fumi in his *Codice Diplomatico* between the period 1137-1200 were produced either in the church of Sant'Andrea itself, on the steps or in the piazza in front of the building. The peace between the Siennese State and Count Aldobrandeschi was negotiated in the church of Sant'Andrea in 1203 and the division of the Aldobrandeschi county between four of its family members was also decided in the same church. Henderson (1990), p.328, n.7; E. Carpentier, 'Orvieto et son Contade: étude du cadastre de 1292 par la méthode de l'Informatique' (PhD dissertation, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1975), 4 vols., vol.1, p.18.

<sup>51</sup> The panel painting which was carried in procession is no longer identifiable. A wooden panel painting of the Virgin and Child by the Maestro della Madonna di San Brizio remains to this day on the altar of the Cappella Nuova in the Cathedral and has been there since 1622. It has been dated to the end of the thirteenth century. This date is supported by Garrison's attribution of another wooden panel of the same subject to the same master in the same time frame. Two of the angels at the Virgin and Child's side carry crowns in the cathedral painting and above them there is a bust of God the Father, both details could be in reference to the Assumption Feast. The Virgin stands in front of a curved back throne, similar to that drawn on the first drawing of the façade project of the Cathedral. Unfortunately the panel has been heavily repainted which makes dating it extremely difficult. Fratini (1989), p.12; F. Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli* (Rome 1969), p. 129; E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: an*

the personality of bishop Francesco of Orvieto (1280-1295) must have been behind promoting the new procession considering its underlying political connotations, the integral role played by the cathedral and the date 1288 of its initiation.<sup>52</sup> The two processions, may well have been Orvieto's interpretation of the orthodox Christian processions in the Greek world where icons like the Hodegetria in Constantinople were carried ritually through the crowds of faithful in the streets of the city every Tuesday.<sup>53</sup> One imagines the procession of the Assunta in Orvieto as a scene similar to the fourteenth-century fresco portraying the Procession of the Hodegetria icon in the Monastery of Markov in Macedonia (Fig. 190).<sup>54</sup>

### Bells and Bell Founders in Medieval Orvieto

A good number of bronze bells remain in Orvieto as supporting documents to the art of bronze casting, its craftsmen and who it was destined for (Fig. 191).<sup>55</sup> Bells were a fundamental component to the ritual expressions which characterised daily public life during the Middle Ages.<sup>56</sup> Their toll measured time, sounded off the seasons, warned of danger and announced the beginnings and ends of royal and papal dynasties.<sup>57</sup> By the

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*illustrated index*, new revised edition, cd-rom (London 1998), Index no. 642. The feast of the Assumption is the 15th August, and continues to be observed in Orvieto where the procession from Sant'Andrea back to the cathedral takes place on 14th August. Thompson gives an example of the medieval cathedral chapter paying respect to the church of San Lorenzo in Siena, expressed by a procession between the two churches on the feast day of San Lorenzo. This type of homage proliferated in the thirteenth century. Valentini (1920), p.5; Thompson (2005), pp.150-151; E. Cattaneo, 'Lo spazio ecclesiale: pratica liturgica', in *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso Medioevo (sec. XIII - XV)*, ed. by A. Erba et al., Italia Sacra, 35-36, 2 vols (Rome 1984), 1, p.473.

<sup>52</sup> Francesco was elected to the episcopal seat of Orvieto by pope Nicholas III on 11 May 1280. Prior to this he had been bishop of Melfi from 1278, which was actually a more lucrative post. Melfi was worth 350 fl as opposed to Orvieto which was attributed 300 fl. On 13 September 1295 pope Boniface VIII transferred him to Florence, which brought him a remarkable increase in pay (1500 fl). K. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (Roma 1960), pp. 250, 334, 508.

<sup>53</sup> The procession was initially introduced to Orvieto in an effort to involve the Virgin, Queen of Heaven and protector of the city, in coming to the city's aid in an act of divine intervention against the plague. The city of Constantinople also had a long relationship with the Virgin who was protector of the city and came to its aid at times of distress. It appears that Siena had already adopted the Byzantine capital's devotion to the Virgin as a supernatural defender of the city before Orvieto, which it demonstrated in its processional devotion to the Madonna del Bordone carried in battle against the Florentines at Monteperti on 4 September 1260. A. Weyl Carr, 'Images: Expressions of Faith and Power', *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. by H.C. Evans (New York 2004), pp. 148-149; R.W. Corrie, 'The Political Meaning of Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna and Child in Siena', *Gesta*, 29 (1990), p.75, n. 79.

<sup>54</sup> Weyl Carr (2004), p. 151.

<sup>55</sup> Medieval bronze bells usually had the date they were cast inscribed on them, and additionally often record the name of their patron or founder. S. De Blaauw, 'Campanae supra Urbem. Sull'uso delle campane nella Roma medievale', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 47, vol.2 (1993), p.375.

<sup>56</sup> Thompson (2005), p.7.

<sup>57</sup> Day broke to the sound of the *prima*, at nine o'clock the bells chimed the *sesta*, the *nona* was rung mid afternoon and at sunset the *vespro* was heard. Church bells were rung at Christmas in the winter season, in Easter for spring and in summer for Pentecost. L.Gatto, *Il Medioevo giorno per giorno* (Rome 2003), pp. 17-19.

thirteenth century a consecrated bell was also recognised as being sacred in its own right, it warded off evil and called the faithful together.<sup>58</sup> Orvieto's earliest bell recorded was commissioned by the Comune's *Podestà* Tommaso and chamberlain Masseo Durantis for the Church of Sant'Andrea, from the bell founders Girardo and Ugolino in a document dated 11 March 1223 (Fig. 25).<sup>59</sup> Another early bell was the gift of an English monarch to the Franciscans in Orvieto (Fig. 24). When King Edward I of England came to Orvieto in February 1273, during the residence of Pope Gregory X, the funeral of Henry of Almain was celebrated in the church of San Francesco. Piccolomini-Adami states that amongst other gifts, Edward ordered a large bronze bell to be cast for the Franciscan church.<sup>60</sup> A second bronze bell once hung in the bell tower at the Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio and was cast in 1277 (Fig. 180).<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, it fell to the ground at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was lost to the French during the Napoleonic government.<sup>62</sup>

What is interesting is that one year prior to casting the bell for Santi Severo e Martirio, Pandolfo Savelli Podestà of Orvieto had had his name inscribed on the bronze basin of the *Fontana Maggiore* which was situated in the piazza in front of the Commune of Orvieto and its church Sant'Andrea.<sup>63</sup> The fountain possibly resembled the *Fontana Maggiore* in Perugia and the *Fontana Maggiore* in Cortona, which both date to the same period (Figs. 153, 192).<sup>64</sup> Pandolfo Savelli later became Senator of Rome when he commissioned a significant number of bronze bells for Roman churches.<sup>65</sup> The inscriptions on three bronze bells, dating to 1286, 1289 and 1291, from the Roman churches of San Nicola in Carcere, Santa Maria Maggiore and Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, all name Pandolfo Savelli as the bells' patron, and all the bells were cast

<sup>58</sup> De Blaauw (1993), p.382.

<sup>59</sup> Fumi (1884), p.103; Valentini (1920), pp.200-201.

<sup>60</sup> F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1947), 2, p.609; Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.147.

<sup>61</sup> De Blaauw, citing Calzini, records the date inscribed on the bell as being 1277, a year earlier than the date recorded by Piccolomini-Adami. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.355; E. Calzini, 'Campane e fonditori di campane. (Spigolature e notizie inedite)', *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, 14 (1911), p.153; De Blaauw (1993), p.414.

<sup>62</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.355.

<sup>63</sup> P. Perali, 'La distrutta fontana della piazza maggiore di Orvieto. (Da documenti inediti)', *Rivista Umbra*, 1 (1910) p.7.

<sup>64</sup> Nicola and Giovanni Pisano worked on the *Fontana Maggiore* in Perugia from 1277 to 1278 and Tommaso Braccioli, the sixteenth century author of a sketch of the fountain in the Biblioteca Comunale of Cortona (Ms. C.C. 546, f. 152), recorded its date of 1278. G. Tigler, 'Sculture gotiche a Cortona', *Arte in Terra d'Arezzo: il Trecento*, ed. by A. Galli e P. Refice (Florence 2005), pp. 191, 194.

<sup>65</sup> Pandolfo Savelli was the brother of Pope Honorius III and at his death was buried in the family tomb in Aracoeli. Pandolfo Savelli's patronage of bronze bells in Rome was evidently inspired by an individual passion, which was then emulated by other authoritative Roman personalities. Pietro Savelli, a relative of Pandolfo Savelli, commissioned a bronze bell for Santa Maria Maggiore in the same period as Pandolfo commissioned a bell for the same church. De Blaauw (1993), pp.376, 412, doc.13,14.

by Guidotto Pisano.<sup>66</sup> One wonders whether Pandolfo Savelli was the common link behind the Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio's commission of the bronze bell from Guidotto Pisano in 1277. The hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that both bells bear the identical formula «*AD HONOREM DEI ET BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS ET SANCTI ANGELI/SANCTI SEVERI † MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEUM HONOREM † DEO ET PATRIE LIBERATIONEM*».<sup>67</sup>

Table G. Bronze bells located in Orvieto or produced by Orvietan bell casters: 13<sup>th</sup> century – first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>68</sup>

Date	Church of original location	Inscription
1223	Church of Sant'Andrea	-
1273	Church of San Francesco	-
1277	Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio	«† A.D. MCCLXXVII AD HONOREM DEI ET BEATE. MARIE VIRGINIS ET SANCTI SEVERI † MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM † HONOREM DEO, ET PATRIE LIBERATIONE TEMPORE. BARTHOLOMEI ABBATIS. GUIDOCTUS PISANUS ME FECIT.»
1288	Church of Sant'Agostino	«† MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM HONOREM DEO ET PATRIAE LIBERATIONEM. AMEN. M. STEPHANUS URBEVETANUS ME FECIT ANNO DOMINI MCCLXXXVIII»
1292	Abbey church of San Pastore, Rieti	«AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM – HONOREM DEO ET PATRIAE LIBERATIONEM – ADDE NOVEN DECESSIC ET DUO MILLE DUCENTIS – TEMPORE NATALIS DOMINI. TUNC. ANGELUS ABBAS – SALVATUS PRIOR EST. DOMINICUS URBEVETANUS FECIT CAMPANAM DE MILLE QUATUOR FERE LIBRIS AM.»
13 <sup>th</sup> century?	Church of San Domenico	«MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM HONOR... DEO ET PATRIAE LIBERATIONEM. † AM.»
1303	Church of Sant'Andrea	«IN NNE. DNI. ANNO DNI. MCCCIII TEMPORE DNI.BENEDICTI PAPAE XI PONT. EJUS ANNO I TEMPORE POTESTARIAE FORTI BRACHIAE DE GUIMIDELLIS DE PISTORIO ET CAPITANERIAE DNI. PAULI DE REIATO † VERBUM HARO FACTUM EST ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS»

<sup>66</sup> Guidotto Pisano signed the bell in Santa Maria Maggiore with his son Andrea. De Blaauw (1993), p.412.

<sup>67</sup> The complete inscription on the bell from Sant'Angelo in Pescheria reads: «†ANNO DOMINI MCCXCI AD HONOREM DEI ET BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS ET SANCTI ANGELI † MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEUM HONOREM † DEO ET PATRIE LIBERATIONEM DOMINUS PANDULFUS DE SABELLO FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS GIUDOCTUS ME FECIT». Guidotto Pisano by no means had the exclusive on this formula however, which was also used in the 1239 inscription of a bell signed by Bartolomeo Pisano in the church of San Francesco in Assisi. It was not unusual to find it included in the inscriptions on fourteenth century bells either. De Blaauw (1993), pp.410-415; A. Muños, 'Un angolo di Roma medioevale', *L'Urbe*, 7 (1942), p.11.

<sup>68</sup> From Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp. 351-355; De Blaauw (1993), p.414.

		«ARTIS MOLINARIORUM, ARTIS OBARIORUM, ARTIS FUNARIORUM, ARTIS VITTURINORUM, ARTIS HORTULANORUM, ARTIS PISTRINARIORUM, DEL PESO DI 4200 LIBRE, DELLA CIRCONFERENZA DI 15 PALM. LARGA PAL. 3,1, ALTA COLLA CORONA, PAL.6»
1316	Bell Tower, Palazzo del Popolo	«MENTEM SANCTAM SPONTANEAM DEO ET PATRIAE LIBERATIONEM HEC FACTA ANNI DOMINI MCCCXVI DE MENSE DECEMBRIS, TEMPORE CAPITANEATUS PONCELLI DOMINI URSI, ET FILII URSI VERBUM KARO FACTUM EST.»
1343	Church of PP. Conventuali, Perugia	«† PRIMO DIE DECEMBRI AN. DOM. MCCCXLIII TEMPORE B. DNI BENEDICTI PP. XII – VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS – AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM † SURREXIT DOMINUS VERE – MAGISTER ANGELUS ET FILII EIUS NICOLAUS ET JOHANNES DE URBEVETERI ME FECERUNT TEMPORE FR. GEORGII GUARDIANI CONVENTUS.»

The formula was obviously appreciated in Orvieto, where it was approximately repeated in the inscriptions on every thirteenth- and fourteenth-century bell cast in Orvieto or by Orvietan artisans documented today, except two: the bell for Sant'Andrea dated 1303 and another cast by Master Angelus and his sons Nicolaus and Johannes de Urbeveteri in 1343 for the church of the Dominicans in Perugia.<sup>69</sup> The popular roots of the medieval Commune are illustrated by the inscriptions on the *Campana della Giustizia*, once on the Palazzo del Popolo and the bell from the Commune's church of Sant'Andrea, which both include the seals of various Orvietan arts and guilds which contributed to their expense.<sup>70</sup>

### Interior Decoration

Very few picture cycles have survived to modern day in the parish churches, monasteries and convents of Orvieto. The prolific church building of the thirteenth century and fourteenth centuries, the abundance of prospective patrons in the second half of the thirteenth century and the position of some of the remaining artwork on the

<sup>69</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), pp.351-355.

<sup>70</sup> A lay community, the *«fraternitas sancti Andree»* was already associated with this church, run by a prior and canons, in the mid-thirteenth century and is first documented in a Will of 1264, which leaves a legacy of 10 soldi to the *«fraternitas»*. Another Will dated 9 June 1363, leaving 40 soldi to the community illustrates that the *«fraternitas»* still existed almost a century later. The secular members of the Orvietan public were clearly involved in the affairs of the Church of Sant'Andrea before they helped pay for its bell cast at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Henderson (1990), pp.273-274; *Liber Donationum I*, Archivio Storico Comunale, Archivio di Stato, Orvieto, fol. 70 v, 4 January 1264, *Will of domina Dolcedona uxor Francisci*; Archivio Notarile, vol. 38/4, ff. 102 r-v, 9 June 1363, *Will of domina Francischa filia olim Tei Petri domini Sinibaldi*.

convex and isolated surfaces of pilasters and columns, implies that at one stage these churches were indeed lavishly decorated.<sup>71</sup> The churches of Sant'Andrea, San Giovenale, San Lorenzo *de Arari* and San Domenico all have remnants of painted images on their interior columns and pilasters (Figs. 22, 25, 162, 177). The choice of painting on convex, detached surfaces was likely to have been obligatory, determined by the fact that all available flat wall surfaces in the churches were already covered in decorative cycles or funeral monuments too valuable to destroy at the time.

The earliest group of paintings date to the second half of the thirteenth century. They consist of a cycle of saints and scenes from the New Testament, which once decorated all six columns remaining in the church of San Giovenale; two painted fragments remaining on the walls of the same church; two large crucifixion scenes in the abbey refectory and church of Santi Severo e Martirio and a painted fragment of two apostles from the same church; fresco fragments from the columns in San Lorenzo *de' Arari*, a wooden panel painting of the Virgin and child enthroned attributed to the Spoletan artists Simeone and Machilone, a large wooden crucifix and the wooden panel painting of the Madonna and child once in Santa Maria dei Servi in Orvieto.

The picture cycle on the columns of San Giovenale is today reduced to the scenes decorating the first two nave columns at the entrance of the church. Small patches of painted palmettes, chevron patterns, rosettes and roundels are all that remain on various levels of the six inner nave columns, demonstrating that the cycle originally decorated all free standing columns (Fig. 193). As you enter the church, the first column on the right is devoted to the Virgin, and scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation are the first to meet the eye of the spectator (Fig. 194, 195). On the apse side of the column stands a saintly bishop, who is likely to be San Giovenale, titular saint to whom the church is dedicated (Fig. 196).<sup>72</sup> The left-hand entrance column shows Christ on the crucifix, flanked by the grieving Virgin and Saint Dominic on Christ's right, and John the Evangelist and Saint Francis of Assisi to his left (Fig. 197).

The inclusion of the two mendicant saints in the decorative narrative of the parish church is indicative of the early popularity enjoyed by their orders in Orvieto (Fig. 198). As the earliest representations of the two saints in the city, is it possible that they were painted in the parish church of San Giovenale because their titular churches

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<sup>71</sup> Surely if any flat wall surfaces remained, where narrative continuity and cohesiveness was relatively easy to achieve, painters of narrative cycles would have preferred them to the convex surfaces of the columns, which from a practical point of view were also less simple to apply paint to.

<sup>72</sup> C. Fratini, 'Il maestro della Madonna di San Brizio e le vicende della pittura in Orvieto fra Duecento e primo Trecento', *Paragone*, 16 (1989), p.6.



were still unfinished and not yet suitable for decoration? This would imply that the cycle in San Giovenale was painted well before pope Urban IV consecrated the church of San Domenico in 1264 and pope Clement IV consecrated the church of San Francesco in 1266.<sup>73</sup> Considering the astounding dimensions of the two mendicant churches in Orvieto, (San Domenico: width of nave: 11.2 metres, length of nave: 82 metres, height of highest point in the nave: circa 25 metres; San Francesco: width of nave: 22.2 metres, length of nave: 53.4 metres, height of highest point in the nave: 26.7 metres), the period of their construction cannot have been brief (Figs. 23, 24).<sup>74</sup> The convent of San Domenico was founded in Orvieto in the period 1232-1234 and the convent of San Francesco was built between 1240-1243.<sup>75</sup> It is therefore probable that the frescoes on the columns of San Giovenale were executed before administration of the church was transferred from the Benedictines to the Guglielmite order in 1279, and more precisely at some time between the establishment of the mendicant convents in the city and the consecration of their respective churches: c.1240-1266.<sup>76</sup>

Between the two mendicant saints on the apse side of the column stands a female saint, dressed in a red robe, who turns towards Dominic (Fig. 199). The colour of her mantle and the fact that she turns towards Dominic rather than Francesco discourages from naming her as Saint Clare. In addition, there is a distinction between the haloes of the figures illustrated on the two columns. All biblical figures are adorned by a yellow ochre coloured halo, rimmed by a wide red band, whereas Saints Dominic, Francis and Giovenale are distinguished by a two toned red halo.<sup>77</sup> The golden hues of the halo and the red cloak worn by the female saint between Dominic and Francis seem to identify her as a biblical saint also. Could she be Saint Mary Magdalen? Both

<sup>73</sup> Bonelli (1943), pp.139-140; R. Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Francesco in Orvieto e San Bonaventura', *Doctor Seraphicus*, 5 (1958), pp.53-54.

<sup>74</sup> Bonelli (1958), p.64.

<sup>75</sup> Bonelli (1943), p.5-6; Bonelli (1958), pp.53-54.

<sup>76</sup> This slightly anticipates the date suggested by Fratini, who following Toesca's stylistic analysis, links the decoration of the columns in San Giovenale to the wall paintings in the Sala delle Pietre in the Palazzo del Popolo at Todi, commissioned by Pandolfo Savelli, Podestà of Todi in 1267. P. Toesca, *Il Trecento* (Turin 1951), p.1056; C. Fratini, 'Il maestro della Madonna di San Brizio e le vicende della pittura in Orvieto fra Duecento e primo Trecento', *Paragone*, 16 (1989), p.8. For discussion of the Guglielmite order in San Giovenale see above: "The Guglielmite Order in Orvieto" in this Chapter.

<sup>77</sup> A red halo is also used repeatedly in the wall painting cycle of 1270-1280 narrating the life of Saint-Maurille, bishop of the city of Angers, in its city cathedral. Angers was the principal city of Anjou, whose count was Charles of Anjou, younger brother to king Louis IX of France and king of Naples and Sicily. King Charles was a regular resident in Orvieto between 1266 and his death in 1285. The palette used in this cycle differs from the colours on the columns of San Giovenale, due to the probable use of oil as a medium in the cycle at Angers. M.P. Subes-Picot, 'Peinture sur pierre: note sur la technique des peintures du XIIIe siècle découvertes à la cathédrale d'Angers', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 97 (1992), pp.86-87, 90; M.P. Subes-Picot, 'Le cycle peint dans l'abside de la cathédrale d'Angers et sa place dans l'art du XIIIe siècle' (PhD dissertation, Université de Paris-IV-Sorbonne UFR d'Art et Archéologie, 1996), pp.17-19.

mendicant saints hold books, Giovenale carries his pastoral and the Magdalen also appears to be holding something in her hands, which may well be her attribute, the jar of ointment.

The Virgin is portrayed between two stylised plants in the scene of the Annunciation (Fig. 200). The sinuous elegance of the foliage between her and Gabriel seems to be an abstract representation of the lily. Piccolomini-Adami recorded the inscription on the column, «*AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM*», which once issued directly from the mouth of the announcing angel.<sup>78</sup> On her left, Mary gestures to the palm tree behind her with both her hands, as she shrinks from the words of Gabriel. The appearance of the palm in the Annunciation scene is distinctive and preannounces the second Annunciation to the Virgin of her imminent death. Duccio di Buoninsegna portrays the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin in which Gabriel presents the Virgin with a palm in a panel on his Maestà for the high altar of the cathedral of Siena of 1311. It is possible that the palm was also included as a premonitory symbol in the unusual scene portraying the Virgin picking dates for her son to eat on a pilaster in the earlier wall paintings from the first half of the thirteenth century of the lower church of the same cathedral.<sup>79</sup> The Sienese artist Simone Martini also uses the premonitory palm symbol in the Pisa polyptych painted for the Dominican church of Santa Caterina in 1320 (Fig. 201).<sup>80</sup> The central panel of this polyptych shows the busts of the Virgin and Christ child surmounted by busts of the archangels Gabriel and Michael. These angels were the communication link between God the Father and mankind, who is represented in the gable above the angels holding an open book which reads: «*Ego sum A et Ω principium et finis*».<sup>81</sup> Both angels hold scrolls, Gabriel is the messenger of the beginning: «*Angelus Domini nuntiavit*» and Michael heralds the end «*Michael princeps magnus*».<sup>82</sup> As in the earlier Sienese wall painting, the palm was definitely a premonition of Christ's future demise, but given the Sienese context from which both

<sup>78</sup> In Simone Martini's Annunciation of 1333, now in the Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze, Uffizi exactly the same citation (Luke 1:28) can be found issuing from Gabriel's mouth: «*AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM*». J. Gardner, 'Review of *Simone Martini* by A. Martindale', *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1989), p.489; A. Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford 1988), p.188; Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.203.

<sup>79</sup> A. Bagnoli, 'Alle origini della pittura senese. Prime osservazioni sul ciclo dei dipinti murali', *Sotto il Duomo di Siena: scoperte archeologiche, architettoniche e figurative*, ed. by R. Guerrini (Siena 2003), p.114, 118, fig.25-27.

<sup>80</sup> Martindale (1988), pp.200-202.

<sup>81</sup> J. Cannon, 'Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the early Sienese polyptych', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), p.70.

<sup>82</sup> Cannon (1982), p.70.

paintings emerged, is it possible that the palm was also used in reference to the death of the Virgin?<sup>83</sup>

The predominant ochre, red, pale blue and green in the paintings are reminiscent of twelfth-century Italian frescoes such as those in Sant'Angelo in Formis, as are the yellow haloes and the simplified pale ochre and blue bands of background colour summarising earth and sky (Fig. 121).<sup>84</sup> I have already mentioned the palmette motif used in the paintings on the columns of San Giovenale and to frame the Crucifixion in the Refectory at the Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio (Fig. 202). The large Crucifixion scene at the abbey also shares with the San Giovenale cycle the alternating use of red rimmed red and ochre coloured painted haloes. Christ wears a large ochre coloured halo and on his right the saints Mary, Mary Magdalen, Agostino and Severo wear haloes of alternating colours, as do saints John the Evangelist, Elisabeth, John the Baptist and Martirio on his left.<sup>85</sup> The choice of halo colours in the Refectory of Santi Severo e Martirio appears unsystematic, unlike the iconography in San Giovenale. This insistent repetition of motifs used on the columns of San Giovenale appears again in the two Crucifixion scenes at Santi Severo e Martirio, where the arms of the cross are cut on the diagonal. A necessary compositional solution in San Giovenale where the cut reflects the curve of the haloes of the saints at the side of the cross (Fig. 198). In the Abbey paintings however, it appears out of context (Fig. 202).<sup>86</sup>

The larger proportions of Christ with respect to the saints at his side reflect the Byzantine conception of biblical hierarchy. In the background the walls of Jerusalem are shown behind the cross and the mourning saints, another Byzantine iconographic motif which the Tuscan artist Cimabue did not include in his Crucifixion scenes at Assisi, neither did it appear earlier in the same scene in the Florentine baptistery. The walls are clearly shown in the later Crucifixion scene of the Mosaic Diptych of Byzantine origins (Constantinople) with the Cycle of Feast Days now housed in the

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<sup>83</sup> In the representation of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Norman Sacramentary painted in Mont-Saint-Michel in about 1050, the Virgin holds the premonitory palm. The manuscript is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Manuscript 641, fol. 143). P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge. Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Montreal 1980), pp. 68-69, 78-79, fig. 67.

<sup>84</sup> O. Morisani, *Gli Affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis* (Naples 1962).

<sup>85</sup> The fourth saint on Christ's left hand side is so badly damaged as to be unreadable today. However, its position corresponds to that of Santo Severo on Christ's right side, which indicates that he is that saint's counterpart as titular saint to the abbey, San Martirio. Martirio and Severo are the only saints which appear in contemporary medieval dress. Piccolomini-Adami has no qualms in naming the saint Martirio in his nineteenth century guidebook, which may indicate that the wall painting was less damaged at the time. Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p. 269; C. Fratini, 'Il Maestro della Madonna di San Brizio e le vicende della pittura in Orvieto fra Duecento e primo Trecento', *Paragone*, 16 (1989), p. 6.

<sup>86</sup> Fratini (1989), p. 7.

Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, but which appears to have been in Venice before 1394 (Fig. 204). Another late thirteenth-century Byzantine mosaic icon of the Crucifixion, also probably produced in Constantinople, now in the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen in Berlin, which can be traced back to Nicosia in Sicily, also has the walls of Jerusalem portrayed behind the cross (Fig. 205). At the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, Doge Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343-1354) was notably irreverent towards Byzantine iconographic models and displaced the figure of the Virgin at the foot of the cross in the Crucifixion scene in the Baptistry, but retained the visual element in the background of the walls of Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup>

The location of the large Crucifixion scene on the end wall of the Premonstratensian refectory provided the religious community with contemplative material while they ate (Fig. 203). In the act of providing nutrition for their corporeal existence, the monks were visually reminded that this existence had been rendered possible thanks to Christ's sacrifice. The figure of Saint Augustine at his side represented the Augustinian rule followed by the Premonstratensian order. The painter's palette appears notably darker than on the columns at San Giovenale, this marked difference may however be due to the fact that the interior of San Giovenale was completely whitewashed by a zealous prior in 1640 (Figs. 193-200).<sup>88</sup> The Crucifixion scene in the apse of the abbey church is in very poor shape and difficult to read. Four haloed saints stand at the base of the cross above the lancet window at the base of the apse. The Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist flank the cross. The male saint next to the Evangelist is wearing hides, which suggest that he is Saint John the Baptist.<sup>89</sup> The unidentified young saint next to the Virgin wears medieval dress similar to San Martirio in the abbey refectory.

The three wall paintings of the Crucifixion, together with a large wooden panel painted Crucifix which once hung in the Poor Clares' convent of San Lodovico, have recently been associated with the pseudonym: the Maestro dei Santi Severo e Martirio (Fig. 206).<sup>90</sup> The wooden crucifix which belonged to the female order of Franciscans

<sup>87</sup> A. Effenberger, 'Images of Personal Devotion: Miniature Mosaic and Steatite Icons', *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. by H.C. Evans (New York 2004), pp. 219-221, cat.no. 129-130; M. Georgopoulou, 'Venice and the Byzantine Sphere', *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. by H.C. Evans (New York 2004), p.494.

<sup>88</sup> Piccolomini-Adami (1883), p.202.

<sup>89</sup> Fratini (1989), p.6.

<sup>90</sup> Fratini also includes a wall painting of San Francesco in ecstasy in front of the Cross in the Franciscan church of Scarzuola near Montegiove in this group of paintings by the Maestro dei Santi Severo e Martirio. C. Fratini, 'Pittura e scultura a Orvieto fra XIII secolo e il principio del Quattrocento', *Le Stanze*

measures 170 x 138 cm and is therefore comparable in size to Giunta Pisano's mid-thirteenth-century crucifix, which once hung in the church of Sant'Anna in Pisa and measures 184 x 134 cm (Fig. 207).<sup>91</sup> The Orvietan crucifix has busts of grieving figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist at the extremities of the arms of the cross, which are similar in dimension to the same figures in Giunta's Pisan crucifix (Fig. 206). Christ's halo on both crucifixes is carved in relief and hints at the artist's interest in the problems of representing depth. At the top of the long arm of the cross, the artist in Orvieto painstakingly wrote out the abbreviated text used by Giunta Pisano: «*IHS NAZARENUS REX IUDEORUM*».<sup>92</sup> Above the painted inscription the rectangular frame contains an Ascension of Christ in the place of the abbreviated text surmounted by the bust of God the Father in a roundel on the Pisan cross.<sup>93</sup> A slightly smaller crucifix of unknown provenance, now held in the Barberini Collection, signed and dated: «*SIMONE ET MACHILON (?) PINSERUNT HOC OPUS ANNO DOMINI MCCLVII*» shares the iconography of the Orvieto crucifix (Fig. 208).<sup>94</sup> Although Simeone and Machilone are probably not the authors of the crucifix in Orvieto, considering the common iconography it shares

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delle Meraviglie. Da Simone Martini a Francesco Mochi. Verso il nuovo museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto, ed. by A. Cannistrà (Milan 2006), p.29.

<sup>91</sup> The Crucifix is now housed in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa. It is signed at the base, with the inscription «*JUNCTA PISANUS ME FECIT*». A. Tartuferi, *Giunta Pisano* (Soncino 1991), pp.56-61.

<sup>92</sup> "Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews" (John 19:19). Giunta simply wrote «*I:N:R:I*» in the same position.

<sup>93</sup> All of Giunta Pisano's wooden crucifixes are surmounted by the roundel at the highest point on the long arm of the cross, which seems to have provided the general model for Tuscan crucifixes produced in the second half of the thirteenth century. Crucifixes surviving from the Umbrian school of the same period, such as the Crucifix by Simeone and Machilone in Rome or the Crucifix by Alberto Sotio in the Duomo of Spoleto and the Crucifix from Santa Cristina at Casu near Spoleto, all demonstrate a silhouette without the roundel at the tip of the cross which characterises the Tuscan type. This Umbrian type of cross corresponds to models in Byzantine Crucifixion scenes such as the late thirteenth century Mosaic icon of the Crucifixion scene once in Nicosia Sicily. The two Crucifixion scenes at Santi Severo e Martirio, that of the column in San Giovenale and the wooden Crucifix once in San Ludovico are all examples of this Umbrian type. Another interesting example, now housed in the Smith College collection in Northampton in the USA, is a painted processional cross of small dimensions which Sandberg-Vavala defines as 'umbrò-bolognese', containing late influences of Giunta Pisano's style and some awareness of Cimabue. This cross on which Christ hangs is the Byzantine influenced Umbrian cross. The Crucifix is given to the Master of the Blue Crucifixes (1265-1275) in the Museum catalogue and may well have been produced by the same cultural background as the two Crucifixion scenes in Santi Severo e Martirio. E. Sandberg-Vavala, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione* (Rome 1980), pp.95-98; Effenberger (2004), pp.99-100, 220-221.

<sup>94</sup> The Crucifix in Palazzo Barberini measures 160 x 101 cm. The earliest documents relating to its provenance is an auction catalogue dating to 24 November 1919, when it was included among the objects being auctioned by Baron Pietro Wrangel probably on account of Basile Khvoshinsky. He had acquired the work of art from a Signore Tizzoni at an auction house in Via del Babuino in Rome. The Russian embassy in Rome took care of the auction of all of Khvoshinsky's belongings which were located in Palazzo Massimo where he lived in Rome. I would like to thank the Dottoressa Antonella Pampalone at the Soprintendenza delle Belle Arti, Palazzo Venezia, Rome for her generous help in locating and allowing me to study the documents regarding Simeone and Machilone's wooden crucifix now in Palazzo Barberini in Rome. L. Mochi Onori, R. Vodret, *La Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica: Regesto delle Didascalie* (Rome 1992), p.13.

with the Roman crucifix, its early date of 1257 can be considered a reference point for dating the Orvietan Crucifix which was certainly executed at a later moment.<sup>95</sup> The Roman crucifix probably originated in Umbria as its authors were Spoletan. The work of art may have been commissioned for a church in Orvieto, where another wooden panel still remains by the same artists (Fig. 209).

The Madonna and child was originally associated with the Spoletan artists Simeone and Machilone by Meiss in 1937, when he attributed it to the same authors of a dossal dedicated to the Virgin and child enthroned in the Museum van den Bergh in Antwerp, Belgium (Fig. 210).<sup>96</sup> The Orvieto panel is of relatively small dimensions and therefore probably predates the production of the large wooden altarpieces, vying for supremacy in size, destined for the churches of the mendicant orders in the late thirteenth century.<sup>97</sup> The panel has obviously been cut to its current size as the base of the throne and the Virgin's feet are missing (Fig. 209). The reduced nature of the panel, which also appears to have lost its original width, means that we cannot rule out the possibility that it too may once have been a horizontal dossal composition like the earlier panel in Antwerp.<sup>98</sup> The panel can be traced back to the Confraternità del

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<sup>95</sup> The wooden crucifix in Orvieto probably follows a model similar, if not the same, as the Barberini crucifix. Its original location cannot have been the Poor Clares church at San Ludovico, as the convent was not built until 1334. Prior to that the Poor Clares urban church near San Lorenzo dates to the end of the Dugento, which again is probably too late to have been the location for which the painting was commissioned. It is possible however that the painting was originally commissioned for the Franciscan female congregation in Orvieto, as the Poor Clares took up residence in San Lorenzo in Vineis on the outskirts of Orvieto in circa 1232, well before the painting was produced.

<sup>96</sup> The panel in Antwerp measures 119 x 80 cm and is dated to circa 1260 by Meiss. M. Meiss, 'A Dugento Altarpiece at Antwerp', *Burlington Magazine*, 412 (1937), p.15; Fratini (1989), pp. 6,17-18, n.15.

<sup>97</sup> The panel in Orvieto measures 75 x 50 cm, less than half the size of the Madonna enthroned attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo in the Servite church of Orvieto which measures 222 x 134 cm and less than a quarter of the size of the Sienese painter Duccio di Buoninsegna's Madonna Rucellai produced for the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence in 1285, which measures 450 x 293 cm. *Le stanze delle Meraviglie. Da Simone Martini a Francesco Mochi. Verso il nuovo museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by A. Cannistrà (Milan 2006), pp.66, 68; *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280 – 1400*, ed. by D. Norman, 2 vols (New Haven 1995), I, p.60.

<sup>98</sup> In Italy the horizontal panel painting was used frequently between 1150 and 1350 and was originally employed as an antependia, which decorated the fronts of altars below the table surface. The development of narrative along a horizontal plane around a large central panel of an enthroned saint was quite common in Tuscan wooden panel painting dating to the 1260's. Two other examples from the same time from important cities lying on the communications routes north of Orvieto were the Virgin and Child enthroned with Scenes of the Nativity and the Lives of Saints signed by Margarito d'Arezzo, now in the National Gallery in London and the dossal of Saint Michael the Archangel enthroned with Scenes of the Legend of the Saint. L. Taylor-Kelley, 'The Horizontal Tuscan Panel 1200-1365: Frame, Format and Pictorial composition' (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988), pp.1-3, 52-53, 262; *Giotto to Dürer. Early Renaissance Painting in The National Gallery*, ed. by J. Dunkerton, S. Foister, D. Gordon and N. Penny (Milan 1991), p.212; O. Casazza, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo, San Michele arcangelo in Trono e sei storie della sua leggenda', *L'arte a Firenze nell'età di Dante 1250-1300* (Firenze 2004), p.86.

Carmine. If it was a Carmelite commission, the painting could now be considered a primary document testifying to the arrival of the Carmelite order in Orvieto.<sup>99</sup>

Another late thirteenth-century panel painting by a Cimabuesque artist who has been associated with the wooden panel on the altar of the Cappella Nuova in the Cathedral of Orvieto was also once located in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine (Fig. 211). Unfortunately the panel has been cut down and only fragments remain of the figure flanking the Virgin and Child in the lower left corner.<sup>100</sup> When exactly the Carmelite order first established a community at Orvieto is still obscure, as there is no documentary mention of it until the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>101</sup> However, the provenance of two panel paintings dating from the second half of the thirteenth century from Santa Maria del Carmelo in Orvieto suggests that the Carmelite community had established itself in Orvieto prior to the date of the documentary evidence. In Florence the Carmelite order began building the church of Santa Maria del Carmine on 30 June 1268. Its high altar was decorated by a large wooden panel depicting a Madonna and child enthroned in what could be described as a larger and more complex edition of the Orvietan Carmelite panel.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately, at this point in time the evidence is insufficient to determine if the panel was definitely commissioned by the Carmelite order.

<sup>99</sup> Riccetti states that it should be excluded that the Carmelite order settled in Orvieto during the period 1230-1260 with the other mendicant orders. Riccetti (1987), pp.XIII, n.8.

<sup>100</sup> The hand of the saint which was once in the left hand corner of the panel holds the disc showing the *Agnus Dei*, identifying the figure as Saint John the Baptist or Saint Agnes. Garrison (1998), Index No.642.

<sup>101</sup> In reference to a battle of 1272 which takes place in Orvieto, the fifteenth century *Cronaca di Luca* specifies that the fight was in "piazza de' Lupiccini, dove è Santa Maria del Carmine". However, Riccetti suggests that the geographical reference was contemporary to the date of penmanship rather than the historical event. Riccetti (1987), p. XXVII; Muratori, RISS, 1, p.313.

<sup>102</sup> The Florentine Carmelite panel was produced in c.1275-1280 after the panel in Orvieto (c. 1265), which explains its development on the vertical plane. It is also surmounted by a bust of Christ between two angels. Joanna Canon emphasises the Carmelite order's early penchant for Byzantine style painted wooden altarpieces of the Madonna and child for their churches, which most commonly portrayed busts of the figures similar to the Virgin and Child by an anonymous Umbrian Artist (32.4 x 22.8 cm) in the National Gallery of London. The panel in Orvieto may provide us with a second example of the Virgin and Child enthroned to add to the Florentine model in the repertoire of early Carmelite patronage. This representation of the Virgin as a full figure is similar to the iconography of the larger and later Florentine panel by the Maestro di Sant'Agata. The Madonna del Carmine in Santa Maria Maggiore attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo of c. 1270 may provide a third example of the iconography. Unfortunately, as is the case with the Orvietan example, there is no proof that this commission originated with the Carmelite order. A. Tartuferi, 'Maestro della Sant'Agata', *L'arte a Firenze nell'età di Dante. 1250-1300* (Firenze 2004), p.89; J. Cannon, 'Pietro Lorenzetti and the history of the Carmelite order', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), p.20; G. Coor, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo, his Art in Relation to the Art of his Time', *Marsyas*, V (1949), pp.8-9.

Another larger Virgin and Child enthroned once adorned an altar situated on the left hand side of the entrance of the Servite church in Orvieto (Fig. 212).<sup>103</sup> The vast dimensions of this panel painting, its subject and the date it was painted indicate that it was originally intended for the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria de' Servi in Orvieto.<sup>104</sup> The image was the subject of a cult dedicated to the Virgin, promoted and managed by the confraternity of the *Compagnia della Vergine Gloriosa*, which the bishop of Orvieto, Francesco approved on 10 April 1292.<sup>105</sup> This date serves then as an *ante quem* for the panel's execution as one of the confraternity's primary activities was to manage the cult which developed around this painted image of the Virgin.<sup>106</sup> Given the fact that the Servite order left its previous location of San Pietro *in Veteris* in 1265, where it had resided since 1260, the occupation of their new church Santa Maria de' Servi, may well have been the occasion for which Coppo di Marcovaldo was commissioned with his panel painting of the Virgin and Child enthroned, in which case the date for his panel painting should perhaps be oriented around 1265.<sup>107</sup> Its attribution to Coppo di Marcovaldo remains controversial; however, those who do accept this Florentine authorship generally agree that its production post-dates that of the Sienese Madonna del Bordone painted by Coppo in 1261 for the Servite church in Siena (Fig. 213).<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> This location of the wooden panel painting on the interior wall of the facade is given by an inscription located above the altar of the Servite church in Orvieto, which also states that it was moved onto the high altar in 1733. R.M. Fagioli, *La chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi in Orvieto. Parrocchia di San Martino* (Todi 2003), p.46, n.13.

<sup>104</sup> The *titulus* of the high altar could usually be identified with that of the church which held it and from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), it was to be illustrated by an inscription or an image near the high altar itself. It makes sense then that the wooden panel of the Madonna and Child enthroned, generally attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo, was with all likelihood commissioned to illustrate the *titulus* of the high altar of the newly built Servite Church in accordance with thirteenth century canon law. C. Gardner von Teuffel, 'Clerics and Contracts: Fra Angelico, Neroccio, Ghirlandaio and Others: Legal Procedures and the Renaissance High Altarpiece in Central Italy', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 62 (1999), pp.191-192.

<sup>105</sup> Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.205, doc.10.4.

<sup>106</sup> Fratini (2006), p.280.

<sup>107</sup> It should be remembered that the document dating to 1292, refers to the panel as already being a cult object. The painting must have been in existence for a reasonable amount of time for a cult to have developed around it. The lack of documentary evidence specifically pertinent to the author of such a large panel may result from the fact that Coppo did not actually paint the Servite Madonna and Child in Orvieto, but sent the finished piece down to the city from his workshop in Tuscany. Of course, this suggestion is purely speculative, however given the size of the commission, the importance of its author and the relative consistency of Orvietan medieval documentation, it is unusual that nothing pertaining to the painting's actual execution can be traced in the Orvietan archives.

<sup>108</sup> Perali first attributed the altarpiece to Coppo di Marcovaldo in 1919. This attribution has been supported by most scholars, with the exception of Boskovits, Lunghi and Labriola who associate it with the work of Guido da Siena, Fratini who compared it to the Polyptych of Santa Giuliana in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria by Vigoroso da Siena and Bellosi who put forward the name of Salerno da Coppo, or a painter close in style to Cimabue. Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.66; C. Fratini, 'Pittore senese (Vigoroso da Siena?). Madonna col Bambino in trono e due angeli', *Arnolfo di Cambio. Una rinascita*



Both panels executed in the byzantinizing style show the Virgin sitting on similar lyre-back wooden thrones holding the blessing Christ child perched high on a blanket sitting in his mother's lap. Such a throne had been used in Rome since the execution of the sixth-century fresco of the Virgin Enthroned in Santa Maria Antiqua and was common in Roman churches dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>109</sup> This choice of throne for the paintings in both Siena and Orvieto may well have been a deliberate use of eastern Christian iconography associated with royalty. The most conspicuous Eastern example of this iconography is the tenth-century mosaic of Christ Enthroned above the Imperial Portal of the Inner Narthex at the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (Fig. 214).<sup>110</sup> Similar to the example from Constantinople, the Virgin in Orvieto rests her feet directly on a wooden platform, rather than the cushion shown in both Coppo di Marcovaldo's Sienese altarpiece and the dossal of San Michele Arcangelo in the Museo d'Arte Sacra at San Casciano Val di Pesa near Florence (Figs. 212, 213). In Siena, she wears delicately ornate gold embroidered red slippers.<sup>111</sup> Her choice of footwear changes in Orvieto, where the blue silk slippers appear exquisitely decorated in dull gold palmette motifs comparable in style to the ornate dress shoes worn by the once polychromatic marble sculpture of the Virgin and Child attributed to the school of Nicola Pisano in the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto (Figs. 215, 217).<sup>112</sup> The image of the Virgin as *Regina*

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*nell'Umbria medievale*, ed. by V. Garibaldi e B. Toscano (Milan 2005), pp.280-281; Fagioli (2004), p.46; A. Labriola, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo', *Aur. Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (München 1999), pp. 122-124; L. Bellosi, *Cimabue* (Milan 1998), pp. 131, 176, 265; E. Lunghi, 'Orvieto', *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, VIII (Rome 1997), pp. 899-902; M. Boskovits, *The Origins of Florentine Painting 1110-1270* (Florence 1993), pp. 762-777; M. Boskovits, 'La 'Madonna dei Servi' di Orvieto e i suoi rifacimenti', *Paragone*, 479-481 (1990), pp. 107-110; Corrie (1990), pp.61-75; L.C. Marques, *La Peinture du Duecento in Italia Centrale* (Paris 1987), pp.77-84; L. Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto* (Turin 1985), pp.127-128; J. Polzer, 'The Virgin and Child enthroned from the Church of the Servites in Orvieto: Generally given to Coppo di Marcovaldo. Recent Laboratory evidence and a review of Coppo's oeuvre', *Antichità Viva*, 3 (1984), pp.5-18; M. Boskovits, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 28 (Rome 1983), pp. 631-636; Coor (1949), pp.1-21; G. Coor, 'Coppo di Marcovaldi: His Art in Relation to his Time' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1948), pp. 88-100; G. Coor-Achenbach, 'A visual Basis for the Documents relating to Coppo di Marcovaldo and his son Salerno', *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1946), pp. 233-247.

<sup>109</sup> Corrie (1990), p. 62.

<sup>110</sup> Corrie (1990), pp.62-63.

<sup>111</sup> Corrie writes that red shoes were an element used to heighten the imperial aspect of the Virgin. Corrie (1990), pp.62-63.

<sup>112</sup> The palmette pattern was a common motif in Byzantine Art of the Middle Ages. In the Madonna del Bordone at Siena, Coppo engraves it into the golden halo of the Madonna and Christ child. A particularly pertinent early thirteenth century fresco in the church of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos portrays the Virgin and Child Enthroned on a lyre-back throne. At her sides two angels are dressed in chitons ornate with the exact palmette motif decorating the Virgin in Orvieto's slippers. Corrie (1990), p.64, fig.2. The sculpture of the Virgin and Child in Orvieto measures 58cm and is of exceptional quality. It is dated to c. 1270 and is unfortunately missing the head of the Christ child the Virgin carries in her arms. Its closest counterpart in terms of quality and attention to intricate detail in the rendering of the vestments of the Virgin are the sculpture reliefs of the Virgin in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi on Nicola Pisano's Sienese Pulpit and in the clothing of characters portrayed on the Arca di San Domenico.

*Coeli* is complemented by the elaborate crown she wears and the brocade cloth decorated with the imperial eagle draped over the back of the throne in the Orvietan panel (Fig. 212).<sup>113</sup>

Regal imagery was particularly suited to Servite beliefs and appears regularly in literary imagery of the Servite order.<sup>114</sup> The angels behind the throne in Orvieto have been compared to a much damaged wall painting fragment on the south wall of the nave of San Giovenale (Fig. 218). The head and shoulders of the angel in San Giovenale were certainly painted in the byzantinizing style, and the remains of the frame around it, outlined by white dots, is uncannily similar to the definition of throne details on the panel from Santa Maria dei Servi, however the wall painting is too damaged for any firm conclusion as to whether the same artist was responsible for both works of art.<sup>115</sup>

A wall painting fragment dating to the end of the thirteenth century from the abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio of the busts of two apostles is by an artist formed in a similar cultural and historic moment as that who produced the altarpiece for the Servite church (Fig. 216).<sup>116</sup> The busts of Saint Paul and another apostle turn towards their left, where at one stage another larger image of Christ is likely to have been located.<sup>117</sup> One would expect Saint Peter and the busts of the five remaining apostles facing right to have been situated on the other side of this central panel in a composition not unlike Rubeus' bronze plaque above the Porta del Vescovo on the cathedral of Orvieto (Fig. 69).<sup>118</sup> The

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Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.54; F. Marcelli, 'Ignoto seguace di Nicola Pisano. Madonna col Bambino', *Arnolfo di Cambio. Una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale* (Milan 2005), p.275; E. Carli, *Arnolfo* (Firenze 1993), pp. 32, 44, 51.

<sup>113</sup> The fantastic multicoloured floral crown worn by the Virgin at Orvieto finds its closest equivalent in the much more modest crown used in the Coronation of the Virgin executed in mosaic on the interior of the facade of the Florentine cathedral at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The same colourful foliage can also be found decorating capitals in the mosaics of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence. In the Pinacoteca of Siena the late thirteenth-century dossal of Saint John the Baptist has examples of the same iconography. Coor (1948), p.95. T. Verdon, 'Il fiore di Maria: teologia e iconografia in Santa Maria del Fiore', *Arnolfo. Alle origini del rinascimento fiorentino* (Firenze 2005), p.100.

<sup>114</sup> Corrie (1990), p.64.

<sup>115</sup> Fratini (1989), p. 12.

<sup>116</sup> The fresco has been attributed to a Roman artist and is dated to c. 1275-1285 in the latest catalogue of art in Orvieto. Fratini relates the fragment to a local workshop active at the end of the thirteenth century, which was also responsible for painting the wooden altarpiece known as the Madonna di San Brizio, now on the high altar of the Cappella Nuova in the cathedral of Orvieto. Fratini (2006), p. 30; Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.51.

<sup>117</sup> Cannistrà and Ermini, p.51.

<sup>118</sup> The apostles on Rubeus' plaque are represented as full length figures and also differ in the placement of Saint Peter on Christ's right hand side and Saint Paul on his left. Saint Paul would be on Christ's right hand side in the frescoes from the abbey. The sculpted relief architrave above the east entrance portal of the Pisan Baptistery was probably executed either by a Byzantine artist or a Pisan artist closely following a Byzantine model, and is another possible iconographic model similar to the wall painting composition at Santi Severo e Martirio. In Pisa the bust of Christ is directly flanked by busts of the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist forming the Dëesis, followed by angels, which alternate between the remaining busts

fragmented frame around the two remaining apostles was clearly intended to divide the area occupied by them from that where the central figure must once have been.

Two wooden sculptures of French origin testify to the cosmopolitan tastes of the donors patronising Orvietan churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Figs. 219, 220). A thirteenth-century Bible of French production, which once belonged to San Bonaventura da Bagnoregio and was revered as a relic of the saint in the church of San Francesco in Orvieto, was also a part of this small Orvietan collection of French Gothic art.<sup>119</sup> The small statue of the Madonna carved from pear wood at the end of the thirteenth century can be traced back to the Augustinian church of Santa Lucia (Fig. 219).<sup>120</sup> The larger Virgin and Child in the church of San Giovanni of the regular Lateran Canons also appears to be of French origin and dates to 1330-1340 (Fig. 220).<sup>121</sup> Both sculptures must have been painted and traces of colour remain in the hair of both the Virgin and Child on the later statue.<sup>122</sup> An earlier wooden sculpture of an enthroned Virgin and Child of Italian production was once located in the abbey church of Santi Severo e Martirio (Fig. 49).<sup>123</sup> Its iconography is derived from French models and can be identified with the Madonna and Child Enthroned above the central portal of the first façade drawing of the cathedral in Orvieto (Fig. 39).<sup>124</sup>

This study of Orvieto's parish churches and the religious orders who governed them clearly demonstrates the appropriation of jurisdiction within the religious spaces of the city by the mendicant orders at the expense of the cathedral canons. The

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of apostles. Rubeus' signature and date of 1277 on the bronze basin of the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia shows that the artist was located in close proximity to Orvieto at this time and the cathedral architrave was probably commissioned after he completed his work in Perugia. See "The Porta del Vescovado", Chapter 3, pp.120-125 of this thesis for a consideration of the bronze architrave. The accepted date for the architrave in Pisa is 1204. C. Smith, 'The Baptistry of Pisa' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1975), pp.185-187; E. Lunghi, "'RUBEUS ME FECIT': scultura in Umbria alla fine del Duecento", *Studi di Storia dell'Arte*, 2 (1991), p.17.

<sup>119</sup> The Bible is now in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Geneva, Switzerland. It probably entered into the possession of Bonaventura during one of his visits to Paris between 1235 and 1254. (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Comites Latentes ms. 1). A. Bennett, 'La Bibbia di Bagnoregio', *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. by V. Pace and M. Bagnoli (Naples 1994), p.410.

<sup>120</sup> The statue of the crowned Virgin is 70 cm high and has unfortunately lost both arms and the Christ child once held in them. The smooth surface of the back of the statue implies that it may once have been contained in a tabernacle. Its accentuated *hanchement* and the heavy curved drapery of the Virgin's mantle is comparable to French models from the left side of the main portal on the west facade of the Cathedral of Auxerre, sculpted in c. 1260. Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.62; A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, *Die Domfassade in Orvieto. Studien zur Architektur und Skulptur 1290-1300* (Berlin 1996), pp.81-83.

<sup>121</sup> The statue measures 154cm in height and the Virgin is crowned. Fratini suggests that the statue was carved by an Italian artist in the French Gothic style. Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.63; Fratini (2006), p.31.

<sup>122</sup> Cannistrà and Ermini, (2006), p.63.

<sup>123</sup> The statue was carved from pear wood and still has traces of colour. Like the French statue from Santa Lucia it is of relatively small dimensions: 70cm in height. Cannistrà and Ermini (2006), p.62.

<sup>124</sup> Middeldorf Kosegarten (1996), pp.92-93.

Franciscan order appears particularly aggressive and was assisted in its tactics by the presence of the Franciscan pope – a prominent promoter of the new cathedral project – in the city. Thorough documentation of the many parish churches within the city at the time the cathedral was being constructed provides a more comprehensive representation of the political framework which governed the religious life of the Orvietan populace. My research has greatly reduced the importance which has been attributed by past scholars to the role the Guglielmite order played in the city's religious politics. The central role of the cathedral and its continual rapport with the religious institutions surrounding it is made apparent by the analysis of religious processions which took place within the city. Finally, an examination of the artwork within these parish, convent and monastery churches provides us with the general artistic context for the original decoration – now lost, which once adorned the nave and pilasters inside the cathedral.

## 5 Living and Dying in Orvieto

In this chapter, three of Orvieto's protector saints will be examined in order to establish the political connotations behind the promotion of their cults. In addition, Cardinal Theodoric and Bishop Francesco of Orvieto are both studied in their role as artistic patrons. This will be followed by an analysis of the burial sites of the highest-ranking members of the clergy and secular aristocracy who were entombed in Orvieto while the papal court was present in the city. This examination will provide us with further testimony to the broader sculptural context of which the cathedral façade reliefs were once a part. Moreover, such an investigation will show where the wealthy chose to be buried in Orvieto while the cathedral was being built and a comparative study with the neighbouring city of Viterbo will reveal that such burial sites were typical in cities of papal residence.

### The Cult of the Saints: Three of the City's most Prominent Protectors

The feast days in Orvieto in the mid-fourteenth century are a reflection of the city's important churches, its patron saints and the relics held there.<sup>1</sup> Among the saints commemorated are the patron saints of Orvieto: the Virgin Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul, Saint Bernard the Confessor, Saint Lucy, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Faustino and the Magdalen.<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini-Adami's list of Orvieto's saintly protectors coincides neatly with the eight patron saints of Orvieto in the mid-1490s according to McLellan, which suggests that the Sienese author also compiled it from fifteenth-century sources and that it should not be taken for granted that these same saints were Orvieto's protectors in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> However, the fact that the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century cults of the saints Pietro Parenzo (of early thirteenth-

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<sup>1</sup> Every Sunday was considered a feast day. Holy days dedicated to the Virgin and her son in Orvieto were those of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Nativity, Christmas, the Resurrection, Pentecost, plus the feasts of the Corpus Domini and the Circumcision. All days of the Apostles and the Evangelists were observed and both feasts of Saint John the Baptist also. The feast of All Saints was also included. In addition, holidays were enforced for the saints with churches in Orvieto dedicated to them: the aforementioned days of the Apostles, San Salvatore, San Costanzo, San Bernardo, Sant'Antonio, San Francesco, San Domenico, Sant'Agostino, San Nicola, San Leonardo, San Lorenzo, San Martino San Pancrazio, Sant'Egidio, San Cristoforo, San Gregorio, Santa Croce, San Severo, San Giovenale, San Savino, Sant'Angelo, San Biagio, San Faustino, Santa Caterina, Santa Maria Maddalena and Santa Lucia. Every Friday in March was exempt from work, plus two additional saints: Sant'Erasmo and Sant'Illuminata, who were not namesakes of local parish churches, monasteries or convents, were also included. *Discorso Historico con molti accidenti accorsi in Orvieto et in altre parti principiando dal 1342 fino al passato 1368*, in Muratori, RISS, 1, pp.57-58.

<sup>2</sup> T. Piccolomini Adami, *Guida storico-artistica della città di Orvieto* (Siena 1883), p.132, n.1.

<sup>3</sup> D. McLellan, 'Communal Cults and Civic Liturgies in late Renaissance Orvieto', *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, CI, 2 (2004), p.241.

century origins), Faustino (possibly dating to the twelfth century) and the Magdalen (who is known to have been the object of fervent dedication of bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi of Orvieto (1312-1330)), were all revived at the end of the fifteenth century makes Piccolomini-Adami's list theoretically applicable to the later middle ages too. The inclusion of Saint Thomas of Aquinas among the city's patron saints dates the list to after the Dominican's canonisation by pope John XXII on 18 July 1323 and can perhaps be linked to January 1368, when the saint's corpse was housed in the Dominican convent in Orvieto during its translation from the abbey of Fossanova to the church of Saint Sernin in Toulouse.<sup>4</sup>

Practice of the arts and trades were prohibited on feast days in the city. The *contado* however was permitted to work on most holidays, with the exception of the feasts of the Apostles, Sant'Erasmo and San Pancrazio.<sup>5</sup> The observation of the feast of Sant'Erasmo is curious as this saint was not represented by a church within the city to my knowledge. The holiday of Sant'Erasmo, which was extended to the surrounding countryside, may be in recognition of the *plebeus* as there was a church dedicated to that saint at Montelungo in the *contado* of Orvieto.<sup>6</sup>

### Pietro Parenzo

The city also observed the death of the local political martyr San Pietro Parenzo which had been celebrated in the cathedral on 21 May from the year 1200, and who was declared patron saint and protector of Orvieto by its citizens in 1347.<sup>7</sup> According to his biographer the cathedral canon Giovanni, Parenzo - a member of a Roman patrician family - was murdered by heretics during the night 20 May 1199 while serving as

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<sup>4</sup> The Dominican chronicle was continued after the death of its original author in 1340 and the record of the corpse of Saint Thomas being housed in the Dominican convent in Orvieto was penned by a later contemporary witness. «*Fuit per plures dies corpus Sancti Thomae in nostro Urbevetano conventu et portatum est Tholosam, et ibi, in thumulo sumptuoso, claret multis miraculis*». A. Ficarelli, *Sancta Urbevetana legio* (Orvieto 1962), p.187; Jean Mactei Caccia, *Cronique du Convent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto*, ed. by A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin (Rome Viterbo 1907), Parte 1, c.7.

<sup>5</sup> Muratori, RISS, 1, pp.57-58.

<sup>6</sup> É. Carpentier, *Orvieto à la fin du XIIIe siècle: ville et campagne dans le Cadastre de 1292* (Paris 1986), pp.239-240.

<sup>7</sup> San Pietro Parenzo, despite not being officially canonised until 1879, was venerated as a saint in Orvieto from the time of his death. The rapid birth and tenacity of the saint's cult, despite the lack of interest displayed by the Holy See to its regard, may well have been initially encouraged by Parenzo di Parenzo, who succeeded his brother as Podestà of Orvieto from 1200 to 1203. V. Natalini, ed. *San Pietro Parenzo. La leggenda scritta dal Maestro Giovanni canonico d'Orvieto* (Rome 1936); D. Waley, *Orvieto Medievale*, 2nd ed. (Rome 1985), p.40; A. Vauchez, *La santità nel Medioevo* (Bologna 1989), p.98; McLellan (2004), p.241.

Podestà of Orvieto.<sup>8</sup> Canon Giovanni records the debate revolving around whether the martyr's body should be placed in the church of Sant'Andrea in the city's civic centre or in the city cathedral which was in a decrepit state.<sup>9</sup> The Episcopal seat won out and Parenzo was laid to rest in the '*sacrario*' where he and the Orvietan bishop Riccardo evidently used to meet to discuss tactics in their war on heresy.<sup>10</sup> Miraculous light shows and healings immediately began to occur in the vicinity of the martyr's corpse, attracting crowds of faithful to the dilapidated cathedral.<sup>11</sup> Chances for Parenzo's canonisation were however quashed when pope Innocent III, who was in Orvieto to preach the crusade on 28 April 1216, refused to hear the fifty odd witnesses who had gathered to testify to Pietro Parenzo's miracles.<sup>12</sup> Local saints were a rare phenomenon in Italy compared to England and Germany and most were of humble origins. As a political martyr, Saint Pietro Parenzo alongside Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster, being of noble caste, was an exception to this rule.<sup>13</sup>

The Orvietan populace remained undeterred in its adoration and once the new cathedral had been constructed the saint was placed in the chapel of the Beata Virgine Maria della Stella and from there was moved to a cupboard in the Chapel of the Corporal, where it sat beside the cathedral's other saintly relics.<sup>14</sup> In 1468 the relics of Pietro Parenzo together with those of San Faustino were moved to the side chapel of the

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<sup>8</sup> The thirteenth century *Codice I* in the Archivio Capitolare of Orvieto contains a written narration of the life of Pietro Parenzo. The text is entitled: *Codex Urbevetanum / olim opera et sumptibus/ presbiteri Guidonis Valloclensis Ecclesiae S. Constantii Parrochialis et SS. V. Mariae Cathedralis Cappellani / circa annum 1250 per amanuenses exaratum*. It was definitely written in Orvieto and was intrinsically connected to the city's cathedral chapter. Leoni (1994-2001), p.181. The cathedral canon Giovanni, who is thought to be the author of the text, was then promoted and served as bishop of Orvieto in 1211 and 1212. Eubel (1960), p.508; D. Foote, *Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy. The Bishopric of Orvieto, 1100-1250* (Notre Dame, Indiana 2004), pp.107, 123; C. Lansing, *Power and Purity. Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (New York 1998), pp.32-33.

<sup>9</sup> Parenzo's corpse initially lay in the church of Sant'Andrea and it has been suggested that its transfer to the cathedral was less of a political tactic on the part of Orvieto's ecclesiastic authorities, than a practical response necessitated by the sheer number of people who gathered to mourn the death of the Rector. It should be remembered that the actual dimensions of the old cathedral Santa Maria Prisca were evidently a lot smaller in size than the new cathedral which was built on the site which originally included both the preceeding church and the church of San Costanzo, and therefore it is unclear as to how much bigger Santa Maria Prisca actually was than the church of Sant'Andrea in 1199. Foote (2004), p.116; Lansing (1998), pp.36, 195 n.49; M. Goodich, *Violence and the Miracle in the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago 1995), p.16.

<sup>10</sup> Eubel does not mention bishop Riccardo, who succeeded Rustico and occupied the bishop's seat by 1180. Piccolomini Adami names him Richard De'Gaetani di Pisa and claims he was present at the Third Lateran Council in March 1179 during the reign of pope Alexander III. The Sienese historian says he succeeded bishop Rustico (1168-1179) in 1179 and held the diocese until 1195, when he was succeeded by bishop Aldo (or Aliperto). Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.299; Eubel (1960), p.508; Ficarelli (1962), pp.381-382; Foote (2004), p.93.

<sup>11</sup> Lansing (1998), pp. 36-37, 52, 103-104; Foote (2004), p.117.

<sup>12</sup> Foote (2004), p.123.

<sup>13</sup> Vauchez (1989), p.106.

<sup>14</sup> Ficarelli (1962), p.382.

Cappella Nuova.<sup>15</sup> On the feast of Saint Pietro Parenzo 21 May 1511 a bizarre procession, which included all ecclesiastic members from the city's religious institutions and all the *disciplinati*, 784 women dressed in white and half naked girls flagellating themselves, meandered through the streets of Orvieto, entering the churches *en route*.<sup>16</sup> Evidently the saint was still being revered in sixteenth-century Orvieto. On this occasion the *Riformagioni* of the Comune declared that the procession – which surpassed that of the Corpus Domini – was to be «*in honorando gloriosissima corpora sanctorum Faustini et Petri Parentii et aliarum reliquiarum pro devotione defertarum per Civitatem et in processionibus diebus proximis decursis propter mala temporum dispositionem ad placandum Dominum nostrum*».<sup>17</sup>

### San Faustino

The bones of the Roman martyr San Faustino, another protector of Orvieto, were contained in the same casket as those of the local saint Pietro Parenzo by the sixteenth century, which may explain the coupling of the two names in the above cited document.<sup>18</sup> Faustino was murdered during the persecution of the Christians by the Roman Emperor Diocletian (284-305), and along with his brother Simplicio suffered terrible torments before finally having his head chopped off and being thrown in the river Tiber with a stone tied to his neck.<sup>19</sup> He was a popular saint within the Patrimony of Saint Peter, where he was commemorated on 29 July. In 1494 his cult following in Orvieto sky rocketed when the end of the plague miraculously coincided with his feast day. This occasion led to the Comune's decision on 3 September 1494 to celebrate the feast of San Faustino with a procession on a par to that of the Corpus Domini in Orvieto.<sup>20</sup> Although no specific references to earlier celebrations for the saint are known at this time, the fact that the parish church dedicated to Faustino already appears in twelfth-century documentation and a reference to his corpse in an Orvietan chronicle of

<sup>15</sup> Part of the Cappella Nuova was built on the old site of a Monaldeschi chapel. McLellan (2004), p.262.

<sup>16</sup> «...et molte mammolecte parte innudi che se ne andavano frustando.» *Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro*, Muratori, RISS, 2, p.460; McLellan (2004), pp.260-261.

<sup>17</sup> ASO, *Riformagioni*, 1510-12 (14 April 1511); McLellan (2004), p.261.

<sup>18</sup> The inscription on the urn containing Faustino's remains reads: «*Corpus Sancti Faustini Martiris protectoris Urbis veteris*». Ficarelli (1962), p.369; McLellan (2004), p.258.

<sup>19</sup> A. Amore, 'Simplicio, Faustino e Viatrice (Beatrice)', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome 1968), XI, cols.1204-1205; Luzi refers the legend of Saint Faustino to a manuscript in the Archivio capitolare del Duomo. L. Luzi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Florence 1866), p.199, n.1; Ficarelli (1962), pp.369-372.

<sup>20</sup> McLellan (2004), p.258; ASO, *Riformagioni*, 1493-96, fols. 314v-316v.



circa 1350 suggest that an early cult dedicated to the saint did indeed exist (Chapter 4, Map I).<sup>21</sup>

### Saint Mary Magdalen

Similar to San Faustino, the Magdalen was also the titular saint of a religious house in Orvieto. The Augustinian nuns' monastery of Santa Maria Maddalena was also located on the outskirts of the city, at the opposite end of the plateau to the parish church of San Faustino *sub ripa* (Fig. 231). First documented in 1286, it appears to have been the earliest female religious institution to have been built on the city plateau.<sup>22</sup> Saint Mary Magdalen was the subject of Angevin piety. Particularly devoted was Charles II, under whose reign the cult flourished.<sup>23</sup> The prince himself had participated in the discovery of the body of the saint, which was found in the crypt of Saint-Maximin in Provence on 9 December 1279.<sup>24</sup> Later in 1295, as King of Naples, the same year that Boniface VIII formerly recognised the relics found at Saint-Maximin over the precedent corpse of the Magdalen located in Vézelay, Charles II began building the church of the Magdalen at St-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume.<sup>25</sup> The Dominican church and *studium* in Naples founded by Charles when he was Prince of Salerno was originally given the *titulus* of Santa

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<sup>21</sup> Fumi cites the chronicle: *Discorso Historico con molti accidenti occorsi in Orvieto et in altre parti principiando dal 1342 al passato 1368*, and notes at 26 August 1352, that the Prefect Giovanni di Vico ordered an inquest into the death of Saint Faustino, whose body was contained in the cathedral, as many offerings had been made towards building a chapel in the saint's honour and collected by Simonetto di Pietro Ghezzi. «Ordinò una severa inchiesta per il tempo della mortalità avendo saputo di molte offerte fatte al corpo di S. Faustino conservato in Santa Maria e che erano state depositate presso Simonetto di Pietro Ghezzi, cambista, per erigere una cappella ad onore di detto santo.» L. Riccetti, *La città costruita. Lavori pubblici e immagine in Orvieto medievale* (Firenze 1992), p.103; Muratori, RISS, I, p.57.

<sup>22</sup> The document, dating to 21 June 1286, is in the Archivio Vescovile in Orvieto and records bishop Francesco's confirmation of the election of Lucia as Abbess of the monastery. Two other female institutions, which were established prior to the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria Maddalena, belonged to the Cistercian and Franciscan orders, but occupied suburban sites below the south-western side of the plateau. M. Rossi Caponeri and L. Riccetti ed. by, *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII e XIV. Archivi di Orvieto*, Archivi dell'Umbria, Inventari e ricerche (Perugia 1987), pp.XXIX, 193, doc.7.3.39.

<sup>23</sup> K.L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton 2000), p.299.

<sup>24</sup> J. Gardner, 'Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry: some Themes in Angevin Iconography', *L'État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École française de Rome, l'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l'U.M.R. Telemme et l'Université de Provence, l'Università degli Studi di Napoli «Federico II» Rome-Naples, 7-11 November 1995 (Rome 1998), pp.120-121.

<sup>25</sup> Gardner (1998), pp.120-121; C. Bruzelius, 'Charles I, Charles II, and the Development of an Angevin Style in the Kingdom of Sicily', *L'État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École française de Rome, l'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l'U.M.R. Telemme et l'Université de Provence, l'Università degli Studi di Napoli «Federico II» Rome-Naples, 7-11 November 1995 (Rome 1998), pp.105-106.

Maria Maddalena.<sup>26</sup> Another monument erected with the help of King Charles II was the church of San Domenico in Manfredonia, which was also originally intended to be dedicated to the Magdalen.<sup>27</sup> Prior to this in Bitonto, his father Charles I of Anjou had supported a donation for land necessary for the construction of the church of San Francesco in 1283.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that Charles I too had initially stipulated that this new church was to be dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalen.<sup>29</sup>

The Angevin interest in this saint is probably reflected in the foundation of the chapel and hospital in Capua dedicated to the Magdalen under the patronage of Bartolomeo da Capua.<sup>30</sup> A disciple of Saint Thomas of Aquinas, educated at the University of Naples, Bartolomeo da Capua was signing documents for the Kingdom of Naples as 'Protonotaro' by 1290 and was richly rewarded by three generations of its monarchs: Charles I of Anjou, Charles II of Anjou and Robert of Anjou. Like the Monastery of Santa Maria Maddalena founded around the same time in Orvieto, Bartolomeo's Chapel and Hospital in Capua were run by the Augustinian order.<sup>31</sup> It is worth highlighting that the act which first documents the Orvietan monastery records Bishop Francesco's confirmation of the new abbess at Santa Maria Maddalena.<sup>32</sup> Apart from his uncertain membership to the Monaldeschi family, who were firm Guelf supporters, prior to holding the Orvietan see Francesco had been Bishop of Melfi (1278-1280), where Charles I was a regular visitor.<sup>33</sup> One wonders whether the document

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<sup>26</sup> Sarnelli writes regarding the Church of San Domenico in Naples: "*Indi giunto in Napoli, compie, e ridusse a perfezione la presente chiesa, sotto il titolo della Maddalena, da lui per prima cominciata, ov'esso Re di sua mano haveva posta la prima pietra, benedetta dal Cardinale Gerardo Vescovo Sabinese, Legato Apostolico, nel giorno dell'Epifania dell'anno 1283.*" P. Sarnelli, *La vera guida de' forestieri, curiosi di vedere e d'intendere le cose più notabili della regal città di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto, Nuova edizione ampliata e di vaghe figure abbellita* (Naples 1713), p. 116. Bruzelius dates Charles II laying of the first stone of the new Dominican church and *studium* in Naples to January 1284, when Charles was still Prince of Salerno and vice-regent. Sarnelli's 1713 attribution of the Neopolitan Dominican church to Saint Mary Magdalen is not mentioned. C. Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples. Church building in Angevin Italy 1266-1343* (New Haven 2004), p.95.

<sup>27</sup> Charles II was patron of both the Franciscan and Dominican establishments in Manfredonia, the port from which the crusades sailed from. The king's patronage of the Dominican church dates to 1294 and the church was one of twelve houses Charles II had sworn to construct during his imprisonment in Bacellona. Bruzelius (2004), p.127.

<sup>28</sup> C. Bruzelius, 'Charles of Anjou and the French National Style in Italy', *Kunst im Reich Kaiser Friedrichs II. Hohenstaufen*, Band II, ed. by A. Knaak (Berlin München 1997), p.148; Bruzelius (2004), pp.40-41.

<sup>29</sup> Bruzelius (2004), pp.40-41.

<sup>30</sup> Charles II gave Bartolomeo da Capua permission to erect the hospital and chapel dedicated to the Magdalen in 1300. Bruzelius (2004), p.160.

<sup>31</sup> Bruzelius (2004), pp.160, 213.

<sup>32</sup> See p.180, n.22 of this Chapter.

<sup>33</sup> Waley describes the Monaldeschi as '...la famiglia principale tra i guelfi...' and writes that they '...avevano sposato decisamente la causa angioina...' already by the 1260's. Della Valle cites both Marabottino who says that Francesco arrived in Orvieto circa 1279 and Ughelli who postdates his arrival to 1280. Charles I was present in Melfi 4-11 July, 25-30 September, 1-15 October in 1278 and 5-17 July,

regarding Bishop Francesco and the Augustinian Monastery of Santa Maddalena in 1286 was not the first interaction between the two parties, and if perhaps the bishop may have been instrumental in the institution's foundation? As a bishop in the Angevin Kingdom and possibly a member of the Monaldeschi family, Francesco was also certainly *Parte Guelfa*. Jansen claims that the Guelf Party willingly adopted the cult of the Magdalen in Central Italy and gives the example of the Magdalen Chapel in the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence, behind which Robert of Anjou was the driving force.<sup>34</sup> Another Angevin crony, Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, who served as co-regent with Robert d'Artois to Charles II's throne directly after the death of Charles I in January 1285, was behind the Roman commission of an altar dedicated to the Magdalen in the Lateran.<sup>35</sup> Gardner suggests Bianchi's Lateran patronage to be a reflection of the Papacy's policy towards Sicily at the end of the thirteenth century, which also ultimately contributed to the diffusion of Magdalen iconography throughout Central Italy.<sup>36</sup>

One of the most famous examples of private devotion to the Magdalen is documented by Simone Martini's polyptych commissioned by the Dominican bishop Trasmondo Monaldeschi (1312-1330) for the high altar of his order's church in Orvieto (Fig. 226).<sup>37</sup> In addition to this exquisite record of his devotion to the Magdalen, where the donor immortalises himself by having himself portrayed presented by Mary Magdalen to the Virgin and child located in the central panel of the polyptych, the

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11-30 September, 1-6 October in 1279. During which period he must have met and conferred with Bishop Francesco. Only a little more than a year after Francesco was named bishop of Orvieto Charles I and his court became regular visitors to Orvieto. Charles I arrived in Orvieto on 3 April 1281, where he stayed intermittently – dividing his time between Orvieto and Rome – until 20 January 1282. P. Durricu, *Les Archives Angevines de Naples*, 2 vols. (Paris 1886-1887), pp.182-187; G. Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome 1791), p.33; G. Buccolini, 'Serie critica dei Vescovi di Bolsena e di Orvieto', *B.R.D.S.P.U.*, 38 (1941), p.45, Waley (1985), p.79.

<sup>34</sup> Elliot suggests that Robert of Anjou may well have contributed to the iconographic plan of the painted programme in the Magdalen Chapel, which was probably initiated around 1322, at the end of the *signoria* of Robert of Anjou in Florence (1313-1322). J. Elliot, 'The Judgement of the Commune: The Frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 61 (1998), pp.516-518; Jansen (2000), p.320.

<sup>35</sup> Gardner (1998), p.121.

<sup>36</sup> Gardner (1998), p.121.

<sup>37</sup> The obituary list of San Domenico in Orvieto records Trasmondo Monaldeschi, Bishop of Sovana as having paid a hundred florins for the painting destined for the high altar of the San Domenico in Orvieto: «...*tabulam etiam pingi fecit pro altrari maioris capelle, expendens in ipsam flor. C...*». He was a generous patron of the Dominican convent in Orvieto, having donated it a precious and beautiful chalice worth 100 lire and contributed 1000 lire for the fabric of the church. Trasmondo also had a family tomb built in the Dominican church of Orvieto, where his parent and close relatives were buried. J. Cannon, 'Domenican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: the Provincia Romana, c. 1220- c. 1320' (PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1980), pp. 40, 477; J. Cannon, 'Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the early Siennese Polyptych', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), p.84; Caccia (1907), pp. 107-109.

obituary of the Dominican church in Orvieto records that while Trasmondo was living there he also paid for a daily mass (which he often celebrated himself) in honour of the saint.<sup>38</sup> The obituary also clarifies that Trasmondo considered the saint to be his intercessor with God and he prayed to her every day in earnestness and devotion.<sup>39</sup> Unlike bishop Francesco of Orvieto, who was possibly a distant relative, Trasmondo Monaldeschi was bishop of the smaller, but nearby diocese of Sovana.<sup>40</sup> The underlying Papal-Angevin-Guelf-(Magdalen cult?) connections suggested above regarding the earlier Monaldeschi bishop are still apparent – although on a much more personal and local level – in bishop Trasmondo's choice of the Magdalen as his personal patron saint.<sup>41</sup> Count Niccolò della Corvaia, was probably the third known member of the Monaldeschi family to demonstrate a passionate personal devotion towards the Magdalen.<sup>42</sup> The same year as becoming a Franciscan tertiary, the nobleman founded a hermitage with an oratory in the Magdalen's name at Cetona.<sup>43</sup>

One later curious reference to the cult of the Magdalen, which can be indirectly linked to Orvieto, remains. On 31 January 1336 Luca Fieschi, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata drew up his Will in Avignon.<sup>44</sup> He was a member of the extremely wealthy Fieschi family of Genoa, Pope Hadrian V was his uncle, he was both cousin and friend to Edward III of England and related to Jacques II of Aragon. Like Theodoric of Orvieto before him he had been named cardinal by Pope Boniface VIII, he too was a prior at the Church of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto, plus he held an additional priory at San Benedetto *Teverina* in Bagnoregio.<sup>45</sup> His Orvietan connections which began just prior to

<sup>38</sup> Trasmondo served as both lector and prior at the Dominican Convent in Orvieto. Cannon (1982), p.84.

<sup>39</sup> «...suam autem habuit in matronam et interventricem apud Deum beatam Mariam Magdalenam, cuius diem affectu et effectu venerabatur quam plurimum». Cannon (1982), p.84.

<sup>40</sup> The city of Sovana was situated roughly five kilometres north of Pitigliano and fifty kilometres west of Orvieto in what had been the Aldobrandeschi County. Trasmondo was appointed bishop of Sovana by Pope Clement V on 10 May 1312, where he remained until his death in 1330. Ten years earlier a distant cousin of Trasmondo's had been appointed to the bishopric of Sovana, Monaldo Monaldeschi was bishop of Sovana from May 1298 to 1302 when he was transferred to the see of Benevento until his death. Pope Giovanni XXII nominated Arnaldo de Brusaco in his place on 10 January 1332. Eubel (1960), pp.133, 466.

<sup>41</sup> Trasmondo, as a member of the Monaldeschi family, certainly would have been sympathetic to Guelf Party politics, which 'willingly adopted the cult of the Magdalen in Central Italy' according to Jansen. Jansen (2000), p.320.

<sup>42</sup> Jansen (2000), p.279.

<sup>43</sup> Cetona is situated roughly fifty kilometres northwest of Orvieto and was probably part of the Orvietan State until the second half of the fourteenth century, when it was probably ceded along with Sarteano to Perugia. The hermitage was founded in 1367 and was later painted by Andrea di San Giovanni with six scenes narrating the life of the Magdalen at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Waley (1985), p.180; Jansen (2000), p.279. For the oratory and frescoes, see E. Carli, *Gli affreschi di Belverde* (Florence 1977).

<sup>44</sup> A. Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXV (Rome 1980), p.451.

<sup>45</sup> Theodoric was named cardinal during Boniface VIII third promotion on 17 December 1295, Luca de Fieschi was promoted to the cardinalate in Boniface VIII's fourth promotion on 2 March 1300. He

major work efforts to erect the cathedral façade in the city have yet to be investigated.<sup>46</sup> However, it is curious to note his concern that the feast of the Magdalen be observed at the chapel of Saint Mary Magdalen in Rochatallia in the Comune of Neirone Province of Genoa: «*Item voluit, si capella Sancte Marie Magdalen in Rochatallia est completa, quod ponantur ibi duo presbiteri, quorum quilibet teneatur habere unum clericum, et dentur et assignentur ipsorum cuilibet quadraginta libr. Prefate monete in redditibus annuatim, videlicet triginta libr. Pro presbitero, et decem pro clerico; et ipsorum presbiterorum et clericorum presentatio et institutio spectet ad patronum predictum.*»<sup>47</sup> One wonders if his passion for the Magdalen was also influenced by the Angevin promotion of the cult?

The line up of Orvieto's saintly protectors is therefore a reflection of the city's political alliances. As a city located within the Papal States, the choice of the apostles Peter and Paul as patron saints is not surprising. The city's Roman connections are further highlighted by its choice of the Roman martyrs: Saint Faustino, of early Roman origins and the near contemporary saint of purely local derivation, Pietro Parenzo. Devotion to the Magdalen, on the other hand, appears to have originated as an expression of Angevin politics, which were closely entwined with papal interests.<sup>48</sup> This intrinsic intermeshing of Orvietan affairs with those of the papacy and the Angevin Kingdom at the end of the thirteenth century is visually encapsulated in the seal of its *Popolo*, where two shields are located in the bipartite zones above the arms of the cross: the shield on the left bears the papal keys of Saint Peter and that on the right displays the Angevin arms (Fig. 232).<sup>49</sup>

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acquired both his Orvietan benefices in 1307, the year following Theodoric's death. Eubel (1913), pp.12-13; T. Boespflug, *La curie au temps de Boniface VIII* (Rome 2005), pp.278-279.

<sup>46</sup> According to Luca di Domenico Manenti in July 1313 "...messer Luca dal Flischo de Genoa, cardinale, ...dimoraro molti mesi in Orvieto". Muratori, RISS, 1, p.351.

<sup>47</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.452.

<sup>48</sup> Waley, referring to the nomination of a Frenchman from Charles of Anjou's retinue as *Podestà* of Orvieto in the 1260's, says that 'la sua nomina mostra chiaramente la rapidità e la totalità del processo con cui la supremazia della causa guelfa, in Italia, fosse passata agli angioini'. Waley (1985), p.74.

<sup>49</sup> Waley published a complete copy of the seal of the *Popolo* on the back cover of his Italian edition of *Medieval Orvieto*. Piccolomini Adami describes the seal, however does not illustrate a copy of it and unfortunately makes no mention of the two crests above the cross. He cites the author Domenico Maria Manni who, in his turn, cites a letter from the *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo* of Orvieto dated 7 July 1282 addressed to the *Podestà* of Cetona which bore both seals. Pardi reproduces the *Sigillum populi civitatis Urbisveteris* which was cast on the bronze bell of the Palazzo del Popolo in Orvieto, unfortunately the author only clearly illustrates the papal crest as the Angevin shield had possibly been worn down over time. Waley (1985), back cover; G. Pardi, *Il Governo dei Signori Cinque in Orvieto* (Orvieto, 1894), p.26, fig.2; Piccolomini Adami (1883), pp.355-356; D.M. Manni, *Osservazioni istoriche ...sopra i sigilli antichi de' secoli bassi*, 30 vols. (Firenze 1739-1784), vol.13, p.86.

### Ecclesiastic and Secular Elites: Living and Dying in Orvieto

Throughout this thesis I have drawn attention to the cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants residing in Orvieto at the time the papal court frequented the city. At this point I would like to examine some of the highest ranking members of this elite and powerful community, their connection to Orvieto and evidence testifying to their aesthetic taste. Of course the most potent men present in Orvieto, and those who had the most impact in the second half of the thirteenth century, were the popes themselves. Urban IV, Clement IV, Gregory X, Nicholas III, Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII all visited the city and many of them made it their residence.<sup>50</sup> Papal palaces were either initiated or renovated and enlarged during the Orvietan permanence of the papal courts ruled by Urban IV, Gregory X, Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII.<sup>51</sup>

In a bull issued in Viterbo on 3 July 1266, Clement IV gives permission to the members of the religious community of the Hospital of Santa Maria in Orvieto to build their own chapel and cemetery in order to care for the needs of the sick and needy.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The visits of Popes Clement IV and Nicholas III were very brief, lasting only one to two days, however the shortest sojourn of the remaining five resident popes was that of Boniface VIII, which lasted 149 days. A. Paravicini-Bagliani, 'La mobilità della Curia Romana nel secolo XIII. Riflessi Locali', *Società e Istituzioni dell'Italia Comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*, Congresso storico internazionale Perugia 6-9 novembre 1985, 2 vols. (Perugia 1988), I, p.163.

<sup>51</sup> Le Pogam claims that every pope from Urban IV to Boniface VIII, regardless of his length of residence in Orvieto, contributed to the progressive construction of the papal residences in the city. Some confusion still remains as to dating the various stages of the papal complex and its respective patrons. Le Pogam attributes the third building stage of the Orvietan Papal Palace complex to Pope Nicholas IV, whereas Gigliozzi, Riccetti and Radke claim that it Pope Gregory X who commissioned work on the papal palace. The design of the buildings reflects State politics. Urban IV's papal palace shows evident similarities with the communal palaces of northern Italy, the seems to reflect the provenance of many of the *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo* elected to Orvietan office from the *Val Padana* during Urban IV's sojourn. The architecture of work commissioned by Martin IV on the other hand reflects the pope's French roots, although interpreted by local Italian craftsmen. Boniface VIII's ingenious approach to autocelebration is reflected in Palazzo Soliana, which unlike the earlier parts of the papal complex, was not commissioned by its intended resident. The Comune of Orvieto built the pope his palace, possibly in recognition of Boniface VIII's support to its claim to the territory of Val di Lago in 1296 and it was modelled on the city's Palazzo del Popolo, the public seat of the *Capitano del Popolo*, a position to which Boniface was nominated three times in Orvieto. Waley (1985), pp.93-97; G.M. Radke, 'Gothic Style at the Papal Palace in Orvieto', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, nuova serie, 15-20 (1990-1992), p.214; L. Riccetti, 'Le origini dell'Opera, Lorenzo Maitani e l'architettura del Duomo di Orvieto', *Opera. Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all'inizio dell'Età Moderna*, Atti della Tavola Rotonda, Villa I Tatti, Firenze, 3, aprile 1991, a cura di M. Haines e L. Riccetti (Firenze 1996), p.195; M.T. Gigliozzi, *I Palazzi del Papa. Architettura e ideologia: il Duecento* (Roma 2003), pp.133-178; P. Le Pogam, 'I palazzi papali', *Arnolfo di Cambio. Una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, ex. Cat. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Orvieto, chiesa di Sant'Agostino 7 July 2005-8 January 2006, ed. by V. Garibaldi and B. Toscano (Milan 2005), pp. 53-59.

<sup>52</sup> The first reference to the Hospital of Santa Maria in Orvietan is a Will dated 13 November 1197, which records *preshiter* Giovanni of the church of Santi Apostoli leaving all his worldly possessions to Bishop Riccardo of Orvieto in order that they be used for the construction of a hospital. Clement IV is documented as having visited Orvieto for a period of two days (24-25 April 1266). This bull in its original form and a copy of another bull issued by the pope on the same day, express the pope's desire that the religious community provide for the «*sanitas corporis*» and «*cura animarum*» of those in need. These bulls clearly express the two principal components which were considered to be the base of

However, the chapel then remains unmentioned by Orvietan documents until it was dedicated to Saint James Major in a bull issued by Pope Nicholas IV twenty-five years later (Fig. 163). In the same bull the pope named a chaplain for the chapel and decided on the construction of a cemetery and a bell tower, complete with bell.<sup>53</sup> Three years earlier, on 23 December 1288, Pope Nicholas IV had granted the hospital to the Hospitallers of S. Jacopo d'Altopascio.<sup>54</sup> Despite the lack of documentary evidence, it seems unlikely that the *fraternitatis clericorum* at the hospital did not act on Clement IV's initial permission to build the chapel. The community's lack of funds suggested by Mancini, is contradicted by a document attesting to the sale of a vineyard near the village of Felceto in the region of Civitella d'Agliano to the cathedral hospital only four months after Clement's bull was issued.<sup>55</sup> More probable is her suggestion that the dimensions of this early chapel were so modest and the restoration of the chapel initiated by Pope Nicholas IV was so radical, as to warrant it being recorded as a construction «*ex novo*».<sup>56</sup>

Three of the five popes who set themselves up with the papal court in Orvieto, were offered primary positions in the government of the city's Comune.<sup>57</sup> Martin IV was elected *podestà* of Orvieto in 1284, but seems to have refused the position.<sup>58</sup> Nicholas IV was the first pope in Orvieto to accept his nominations as *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo*, which he administered through a vicar.<sup>59</sup> This precedent was followed by Boniface VIII, who was elected *Capitano del Popolo* three times and

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medieval healthcare. T. Mancini, 'L'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Stella di Orvieto. Una vicenda storica tutta da definire', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 50-57 (1994-2001), pp.130, 132-133; Orvieto, Archivio Capitolare, *Codice di San Costanzo*, doc. CVI, c. 166 v; L. Fumi, *Codice Diplomatico della città di Orvieto: Documenti e registi dal secolo XI al XV, e la Carta del Popolo: codice statuario del Comune di Orvieto* (Firenze 1884), pp.16-17, doc. LXVII; Archivio Vescovile, Orvieto, *cod. B.*, c.109.

<sup>53</sup> Mancini notes that the bull makes no mention of a new dedication of the chapel but states: «...*Volens itaque propter vos et hospitale predictum prosequi gratiose ut in cappella hospitali cuiusdem que in honore beati Jacopi est constructa quamque nostris manibus duximus dedicandum...*». Which seems to indicate that the Hospital Chapel and cemetery granted by Clement IV were not built until Nicholas IV's bull of 12 June 1291. Mancini (1994-2001), pp.132; Archivio dello Stato di Orvieto, *Diplomatico dell'Ospedale*, 4 and *Libro Copie di bolle*, c.1.

<sup>54</sup> Mancini (1994-2001), p.131; Archivio dello Stato di Orvieto, *Diplomatico dell'ospedale*, 1; *Reg. Nic. IV*, 477 (23 December 1288).

<sup>55</sup> Soldano 'Sinibaldi' acting on behalf of the Rector of the Hospital bought the vineyard for '...15 libbre di denari di buona e corrente moneta...' in November 1266. G. Capocaccia, *Civitella d'Agliano, memorie* (Acquapendente 1939), p. 21, not.27; Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, *Istrumentari II*, c. 72.

<sup>56</sup> Mancini (1994-2001), p.135.

<sup>57</sup> It was evidently common practice for the Comunes of the Papal States to elect the reigning pope as either *Podestà* or *Capitano del Popolo* in the middle ages. Waley (1985), p.109, n.2.

<sup>58</sup> Waley (1985), p.109, n.2.

<sup>59</sup> Nicholas IV was elected *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo* during his residence of 487 days in Orvieto (12 June 1290-11 October 1291). Waley (1985), pp.89, 109, n.2; Paravicini-Bagliani (1988), I, pp.163, 242.

*Podestà* twice.<sup>60</sup> Both of these popes who held high office in the Comune of Orvieto issued generous indulgences to those who contributed towards the construction of the city cathedral.<sup>61</sup> Their personal involvement in the cathedral project was commemorated by Pope Nicholas IV, who laid the foundation stone of the building on 13 November 1290 and by Pope Boniface VIII, who celebrated the first pontifical mass in the cathedral on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, 15 August 1297, after which he donated the vestments he wore to the church.<sup>62</sup> Another source records this celebration of the mass together with Boniface VIII's generous gift of one thousand florins to the cathedral *opera*.<sup>63</sup>

The *Signori Sette* and the General Council of Orvieto ordered two statues of Boniface VIII «*ad similitudinem ipsius sanctissimi patris*» on 4 April 1297, which were to be placed above the two most important entrance gates to the city, the Porta Maggiore at the west and the Porta Postierla at the eastern end of the city plateau. The city's commission of the papal effigies 'should properly be regarded as a compliment to

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<sup>60</sup> In 1297 the Comune of Orvieto elected Boniface VIII as *Capitano del Popolo* from 28 May to 28 November of that year. He was again elected to the position for the second term of 1298 and finally in 1301. Boniface VIII was first elected *Podestà* of Orvieto from June to December 1301. In a bull issued from the Lateran on 25 April 1303, Boniface VIII names Fortebraccio de' Guinicelli of Pistoia as *Podestà* of Orvieto in his stead, after his second nomination to *Podestà* from June to December in 1303. Fumi (1884), pp. 387, 398-399.

<sup>61</sup> Nicholas IV issued two indulgences in favour of the cathedral project of Orvieto. On 13 December 1289 Nicholas IV issued an indulgence of one year and forty days to all those who visited the church of Santa Maria and the chapel of San Costanzo. On 23 August 1291 another indulgence of one year and forty days was issued by the same pope to all those «...*vere poenitentibus et confessis qui manum adjutricem porrexerint ad consummationem cathedralis ecclesiae Urbevetanae*...». Fumi refers to what was probably a copy of this indulgence in the Archivio dell'Opera in Orvieto, but mistakenly dates it to 7 July 1292. (Nicholas IV died at the papal residence at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome on 4 April 1292). This mistake is repeated by Riccetti in his article 'Le Origini dell'Opera...'. Boniface VIII issued four indulgences in favour of building the cathedral of Orvieto. In Anagni on 7 August 1296, Boniface VIII offered an indulgence, lasting the equivalent time to those of Nicholas IV of one year and forty days, to all those who helped in the realisation of the project. Three further bulls were issued in favour of the cathedral by the same pope from Bolsena on 3 November 1297. *Reg.Nic.IV*, 1639 (7 November 1289), 1640 (13 December 1289); 5900 (23 August 1291); L. Fumi, *Gli Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S. Maria di Orvieto. Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Roma 1891), Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria. Fonti per la Storia dell'Umbria, 28, with introduction and edited by L. Riccetti (Perugia 2002), pp.89-91, 142-143; Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p. 242; Riccetti (1996), p.207, 213, 214, n.151.

<sup>62</sup> Fumi writes that Bonifacio VIII 'celebrò nel dì solenne dell'Assunta il primo pontificale nella nuova chiesa Cattedrale e le donò i suoi paramenti'. Presumably these vestments would have included the papal slippers, a tunic, gloves, his cope and a maniple. Riccetti suggests that this mass could well be interpreted as the consecration of the new cathedral, considering that the old cathedral of Santa Maria in *Prisca* was demolished the same year. An embroidered vestment dating to the thirteenth century and originating in Orvieto is now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The needle work is Italian and lacks the sophistication of contemporary English and French production, but this might have been a good reason for a pope to give it away as a gift. Fumi (1884), p.398; Riccetti (1996), pp.209, 220.

<sup>63</sup> «*Bonifatius VIII (...) et die prima mensis novembris celebravit in nova ecclesie Sancte Marie et dedit florenos mille in opere dicte ecclesie et concessit indulgentiam*». Muratori, RISS, 1, p.204; Riccetti (1996), p.220, n.171.



a powerful patron' (Figs. 233, 234).<sup>64</sup> They were made specifically to decorate the great entrance portals of the city in honour of Pope Boniface VIII's arrival on 6 June 1297. The statute issued by the Comune stipulated that if the statues could not be completed by the time the pope was due to arrive in town, the project was to be abandoned and images of the pope were to be painted above the gates in their stead.<sup>65</sup> Both papal figures are portrayed seated, a model drawn from the enthroned figure of Emperor Frederick II sculpted on the great Capuan Gate located near the Angevin capital.<sup>66</sup> The subject was unusual for Italy, where the iconography on most decorated medieval city gates, whether sculpted or painted, was commonly religious, showing the Virgin and child with angels, accompanied by the city's patron saints and the saints associated with the churches and parishes closest to the gate.<sup>67</sup> The city of Orvieto possibly felt the terrestrial image of Boniface VIII was more concrete in its powers of guarding its gate than the more common celestial types.

The orientation of the two statues is interesting. On the Porta Maggiore the pope faces outwards, in the expected guardian position, greeting the visitor before s/he enters the city walls from the west (Fig. 234). Above the Porta Postierla on the other hand the figure faces the city on the internal side of the gate (Fig. 233).<sup>68</sup> Cities were usually notified in advance of the itineraries of popes and royalty and their entrances to the cities where they were guests were the result of meticulous planning, necessary for the

<sup>64</sup> J. Gardner, 'An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41, *Studies in Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (1987), p.210.

<sup>65</sup> «...due statue marmoree ad similitudinem ipsius sanctissimi patris...et si predictae statue fieri non possent ante adventum ipsius sanctissimi patris... quod subito pingatur in utraque porta figura ipsius domini pape decora et mira et nichilominus postea fiant statue marmoree que ponantur in ipsis portis». The two statues were still located in what was probably their original positions in niches above the entrance arch of both gates in the year 2000, which considering the above cited statute, implies that they were indeed completed in time to honour Boniface VIII's arrival in Orvieto and firmly dates their production to the period between 4 April 1297 and the pope's entrance on 6 June 1297. J. Gardner, 'Boniface VIII as a Patron of Sculpture', *Roma Anno 1300*, Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma «La Sapienza» 19-24 May 1980, ed. by A.M. Romanini (Roma 1983), p.516; L. Riccetti, 'Statue di Bonifacio VIII' *Arnolfo di Cambio una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, ed. by V. Garibaldi e B. Toscano, ex. Cat. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria and Orvieto, chiesa di Sant'Agostino 7 July 2005-8 January 2006 (Milan 2005), pp.270-271.

<sup>66</sup> Frederick II Hohenstaufen had the Capuan Gate erected in 1234. Frederick's sumptuously decorated imperial throne was held in the papal treasury at the end of the thirteenth century. The papal treasury was located where the pope was in residence, and although the throne may not have arrived in Orvieto soon enough to have inspired the sculptures of Boniface VIII on the city gates, it almost certainly was present in the city during Boniface VIII's Orvietan residence and was possibly the model used for the jewelled marble throne of the Virgin above the central portal on the cathedral's western facade. It should be stressed here that in general the papal treasure was taken to the new papal residence before the pope set off. Gardner (1983), pp.516-517; Gardner (1987), pp.208-209; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana alla corte dei papi nel Duecento* (Rome 1996), p.38.

<sup>67</sup> Gardner (1987), p.212; F. Ratté, 'Architectural Invitations: Images of City Gates in Medieval Italian Painting', *Gesta*, XXXVIII, 2 (1999), p.142.

<sup>68</sup> Gardner (1983), p.517.

organisation of appropriate welcoming parties.<sup>69</sup> Could it be that the Comune of Orvieto had advance knowledge of where pope Boniface VIII planned to enter and exit the city? Or did they plan on having him follow their route, which they had mapped out for him with these two very extravagant road signs? Certainly the names of the gates in themselves suggest the orientation of the statues, the Porta Maggiore was obviously the main gate and likely the most frequently used entrance and the Porta Postierla seems to refer to the 'one behind', in fact it did lie at the opposite end of the city to the Porta Maggiore. Perhaps it was common for Roman visitors to enter the city from Bolsena overland through the main gate, but leave the city through the back gate whose road led down to the Tiber and catch a boat, which would move quite swiftly back to Rome aided by the current?<sup>70</sup> Whatever the case, Boniface VIII appears not to have been obliging, as although he most certainly entered the Porta Maggiore on his way from Montefiascone, but was entirely unlikely to have exited through the Porta Postierla on his way out of the city towards Bolsena on 3 November 1297.<sup>71</sup>

In 1318 the Angevin king, Robert the Wise was elected *Podestà* of Orvieto.<sup>72</sup> A few months later, the King named a vicar Pietro de' Foresi of Pistoia, who took up his post there in April of that year.<sup>73</sup> Although Orvieto had always been a keen supporter of the Angevin and Guelf cause, the nomination of King Robert of Anjou to this key government position in Orvieto is curious, especially considering that earlier in 1268 the

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<sup>69</sup> Although Neil Murphy has examined the welcoming ceremonies of secular royalty in France, contemporary thirteenth century chronicles describing papal entrances to cities make clear references to ceremonies being held at the moment of papal entrance and known routes along which the pope and his entourage were to pass. Salimbene reporting on Pope Innocent IV's entrance to Bologna on his return voyage from France in 1251 comments: "When the Pope arrived in Bologna he was formally welcomed by the people of Bologna... At the moment of his departure the Pope found many nobil and beautiful women of Bologna gathered, who had come out of their homes to line the streets along which he was to pass, in order to see him;...". There is little reason to doubt that papal entrances to cities in thirteenth century Italy were similar to later entrances into cities made by French royalty. Neil Murphy, 'Ritual and Representation: The Royal Entry Ceremony in Renaissance France', unpublished paper from the *Postgraduate Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Culture*, University of Glasgow, Friday 27 June 2007; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La Vita Quotidiana alla Corte dei Papi nel Duecento* (Roma 1996), pp.44-45; Salimbene de Adam da Parma, *Chronica*, ed. by G. Scalia, 2 vols. (Bari 1966), II, p.648; Salimbene de Adam da Parma, *Cronaca*, trad. di B. Rossi (Bologna 1987), pp.617-618.

<sup>70</sup> Riccetti publishes a map with the principal roads leading to and from the city in the late middle ages. The Tibre was still able to be navigated from Rome as far north as Attigliano in 1354, when a block of marble, originally part of the Roman Temple of Jupiter, was acquired for thirty-five florins for the cathedral in Orvieto. The marble, destined to be used for a window of the cathedral, was to be shipped from Rome to the port in Attigliano, about 35 km to the south of Orvieto. Riccetti (1996), p.138; E. Lussana Grasselli, 'Navigare... nel tempo': progetti di navigabilità dei fiumi umbri', *L'Umbria e le sue acque. Fiumi e torrenti di una regione italiana*, ed. by A. Grohmann (Perugia 1990), p.152, 160, n.18.

<sup>71</sup> Boniface VIII probably exited the city through the Porta Maggiore which led directly to the Bolsena road. For the papal itinerary: Paravicini Bagliani (1988), p.243.

<sup>72</sup> In the same year the expert in law, Vanne Gualterio of Orvieto, was employed by the College of Cardinals and by the Republic of Florence as their ambassador to the court of King Robert of Naples. Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.314.

<sup>73</sup> Fumi (1884), p.444.

city's Guelfs had pleaded their Ghibelline co-citizens not to leave the city and had closed the gates on his grandfather Charles I of Anjou and his retinue, refusing them entry.<sup>74</sup> Robert of course was quite another man to his grandfather Charles I of Anjou. Like his brother Louis, he loved learning and cultivated artists, intellectuals and poets during his reign.<sup>75</sup> Louis, Charles II's second son, had abdicated his right to the throne and become a Franciscan friar. On 7 October 1294 Pope Celestine V named him administrator of the diocese of Lyon, after the bishopric had become vacant when Bérard de Got was promoted cardinal by the same pope.<sup>76</sup> Two years later, on 30 December 1296 Boniface VIII named Louis Bishop of Toulouse.<sup>77</sup> He died the following year at the age of twenty-three on 19 August 1297 at Brignoles.<sup>78</sup>

The date of Robert of Anjou's nomination as *Podestà* in Orvieto is interesting because it is remarkably close to the date of his brother's canonisation in 1317.<sup>79</sup> What's more Robert sailed from Naples to Provence only months after being elected *Podestà* of Orvieto, stopping off at Genoa *en route* and did not return until 1324.<sup>80</sup> The year of his return coincides neatly with the date of the first known Orvietan document to indicate an interest in the cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the city. On 21 August 1324 Thesaurarius Matthei Boccalicte put forward a motion before the general council of the Comune and

<sup>74</sup> Eventually, Orvieto opened its gates, preferring to welcome Charles into their city in peace than to have him fight his way in. Waley (1985), pp. 77-78.

<sup>75</sup> Charles I of Anjou had a reputation for his bad temper and guarding his money carefully. J. Gardner, 'The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint: the Iconography of Louis of Toulouse', *I Francescani nel Trecento*, Atti del XIV Convegno internazionale Assisi 16-18 October 1986 (Assisi 1988), p.180, Gardner (1998), p.120; C. Bruzelius, 'Trying to Forget: The Lost Angevin Past of Italy', *Memory and Olivion*, Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam 1-7 September 1996, ed. by W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Dordrecht 1999), p.738.

<sup>76</sup> Bérard de Got had been part of the party sent by the cardinals in Viterbo to announce Pietro di Morrone's election as pope. He died in Orvieto on 27 July 1297 and was probably buried in the Franciscan church there. See p.210 of this Chapter. M.H. Laurent, *Le culte de S. Louis d'Anjou à Marseille au XIVe siècle. Les documents de Louis Antoine de Ruffi suivis d'un choix de lettres de cet érudit* (Rome 1954), p.33.

<sup>77</sup> Laurent (1954), p.36.

<sup>78</sup> Laurent (1954), pp.24, 36.

<sup>79</sup> Saint Louis of Toulouse was canonised by Pope John XXII, who as Jacques Duèze had been a member of Louis's familia at Toulouse. The bull culminating the canonisation process was issued on 7 April 1317. It is curious to note that during the papacy of John XXII only three saints were canonised: Louis of Anjou in 1317, Thomas of Cantilupe (bull issued 17 June 1320) and Thomas of Aquinas on 18 July 1323. All three of these saints were scholars and they can all be linked in some way to Orvieto. Possibly the first complete Franciscan convent built in Saint Louis of Toulouse's name was located in the city; Thomas of Cantilupe had died in Ferento near Orvieto and his vicera were buried in the Abbey church of SS. Severo and Martirio just outside the city walls and Thomas of Aquinas had lived and taught in the Dominican Convent in Orvieto, where his relics were briefly housed on their journey north to Provence. Pope John XXII also issued two bulls from Avignon in favour of the Hospital of S. Maria della Stella in Orvieto in 1318. G.B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy. The Middle Ages* (Rome 1954), p.125, J. Gardner, 'Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIX, 1 (1976), p.20; Gardner (Assisi 1988), pp.170, 181, 182, 192; Mancini (1994-2001), p. 137.

<sup>80</sup> Robert left Naples in July 1318, his nomination to *Podestà* in Orvieto was at some time prior to April 1318 when he named his vicar to the post. Laurent (1954), pp.44-45, n.50; Gardner (1976), p.20.

the *Capitano del Popolo* that the Comune of Orvieto should provide candle wax for the city church of San Francesco in occasion of the feast of the Angevin saint.<sup>81</sup> Three years later, prior to the festivities on 2 June 1327, the *Capitano del Popolo* Rugerius contis de Morontis of San Gimignano makes a request for candle wax «...*pro parte monialium capituli et conventus monasterii S. Lodovici de Urbeveteri... in festivitate predicti S. Lodovici*».<sup>82</sup> This early date for the convent, only three years after King Robert had returned to the Italian peninsula, makes the Convent of San Lodovico in Orvieto one of the earliest religious institutions to be dedicated to the saint (Fig. 176).<sup>83</sup> It also demonstrates that the city's Angevin connection, which was so strong during the reign of Charles I, had by no means disintegrated during the rule of King Robert.<sup>84</sup>

The location in Orvieto of one of the first Franciscan convents dedicated to Saint Louis of Toulouse, also illustrates the Angevin pattern of patronage in which Robert appears to have extended his father Charles II's building commissions north, beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Sicily and focused his attention on promoting the diffusion of the cult of Angevin saints.<sup>85</sup> Orvieto, situated in the Patrimony of Saint Peter, was an

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<sup>81</sup> The date of the proposal is interesting as it is two days after the feast of St. Louis of Toulouse which falls on 19 August. Gardner (1976), p.20; Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.30, doc. 2.2.56.

<sup>82</sup> The Comune donates less than half the amount of wax given three years earlier to the Franciscan church. The Orvietan sources make no mention of the Convent of San Lodovico until this request for wax made by the nuns in 1327, however the request serves as an *ante quem* for the convent's foundation. Although no specific reference is made to San Lodovico being run by the Poor Clares, it is logical that the Franciscan order's request for candle wax to celebrate the feast of Saint Louis in 1324, was referring to a celebration to the member of its own order Saint Louis of Toulouse and that the nuns of San Lodovico in the document of 1327 were the Franciscans' female counterparts. Riccetti appears to have overlooked this later document and dates the convent to 1334. Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), pp.XXX, 31, doc. 2.2.62.

<sup>83</sup> One of the earliest chapels to be dedicated to Saint Louis was the Saint Louis chapel in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi, which must have been constructed well before the saint's canonisation in 1317, considering the fact that Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore (d. 27 October 1312) was buried there before it was dedicated to the Angevin saint. A representation of Louis as a saint in the window glass, implies that the Saint Louis chapel was not fully decorated at the time of the Gentile da Montefiore's funeral. A.S. Hoch, 'A New Document for Simone Martini's Chapel of St. Martin at Assisi', *Gesta*, 24 (1985), pp.141-146. On 31 August 1327 an indulgence was issued by Pope John XXII to all the faithful who visited the Chapel of Saint Louis of Toulouse built by Juan d'Aragón, who was the saint's nephew and Archbishop of Toledo, in the Franciscan church at Barcelona. The pontif requested that the church, which was originally dedicated to Saint Nicholas, be consecrated to Saint Louis of Toulouse. Barcelona and Orvieto seem to have been where the earliest churches dedicated to Saint Louis appeared. The Convent of Saint Louis de Marseille erected at the site of the church of the friars minor at Mans is mentioned in a document issued by Philippe VI of France on 16 August 1330, in which an annual rent of 200 l. is donated by the King in the convent's favour. Laurent (1954), pp.53, 54, 112-113.

<sup>84</sup> One year prior to the Battle of Benevento, only a short time after Charles I of Anjou had arrived in Italy, with Sieneese Ghibelline troops advancing towards the city through its northern territories, Orvieto received the generous reinforcement of two hundred knights to bolster its forces from Charles. A move which sent the Ghibelline forces packing and made a positive impression for future Angevin-Orvietan relationships. Waley (1985), p.74.

<sup>85</sup> Charles I of Anjou's building commissions were notably few and French in taste. Those of his son Charles II were more numerous and have been remarked upon for the decidedly Italian inflection. Their insistent use of *spoglia*, for example, is a constant reminder of the Angevin affiliation with the papacy and

understandable choice for the Angevin King's promotion of his brother's cult. A historical precedent for the reception of Angevin saints in Orvieto had been set when Boniface VIII had canonised his uncle King Louis IX of France in the Franciscan church there on 3 August 1297.<sup>86</sup>

### Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto and Bishop Francesco

Two key figures in Orvieto at the turn of the thirteenth century were Bishop Francesco and Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto. Bishop Francesco can probably be associated with canon Francesco at the cathedral of Bagnoregio, who together with canon Ermanno arrived in Orvieto requesting confirmation of the election of their fellow canon Simone to the bishopric of Bagnoregio from Pope Gregory X.<sup>87</sup> By 1278, although still not consecrated, Francesco was Bishop of Melfi in the heart of the Angevin Kingdom.<sup>88</sup> Quintarelli, who was also the original source of Francesco being a member of the Monaldeschi family, claims that Pope Nicholas III refused to confirm the archdeacon Conte, who the Orvietan chapter had elected to its bishopric and transferred Francesco in his stead on 11 May 1280.<sup>89</sup> Francesco's relations with the Angevin dynasty have already been discussed and his reputation as one of the primary initiators of the cathedral building project in Orvieto has been addressed in previous chapters of this thesis.<sup>90</sup> In his seal as bishop of Orvieto, Francesco chose to be portrayed as a full-length figure dressed in complete bishop's regalia, blessing with his right hand and holding the crosier with his left, framed by a gothic niche (Fig. 235). He appears to have used exactly the same image in his third bishop's seal at Florence, where only the name

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Rome. Bruzelius (1999), pp. 738-740. The Angevin Kings immediate promotion of Louis' cult (Charles II died in 1308, the same year the first documents appear of the saint's tomb), seems to be reflected in the decision at his death to collocate his body in individual reliquaries. Gardner (Assisi 1988), pp.184-186.

<sup>86</sup> Fumi (1884), p.398.

<sup>87</sup> Gregory X confirmed the election of Bishop Simone on 30 August 1272 from Orvieto, where he was in residence with the papal court. In May 1263 a certain "Franciscus" was domiciled with the *famiglia* of Cardinal Ottaviano Ubaldini in Orvieto, however there is no further information to determine whether this could have been a youthful Francesco at the beginning of his career. F. Macchioni, *Storia di Bagnoregio dai Tempi antichi al 1503* (Viterbo 1956), p.194, n.70; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols. (Padova 1972), I, p.292.

<sup>88</sup> Macchioni, citing Pinzi, claims that Francesco was still present in Bagnoregio on 1 May 1278, when he was one of the four notaries to witness an important act in the Palazzo del Comune of Viterbo. Macchioni (1956), p.208; C. Pinzi, *Storia di Viterbo*, 3 vols. (Rome 1887-1913), II, pp.354-363; Archivio Vaticano, *Armadio XIII*, Cap. 1 and 2, B.C. 231; Riccetti (2001), p.196.

<sup>89</sup> Nicholas III's nomination of Francesco as bishop of Orvieto in preference to the local candidate occurred only two months after the pope had briefly visited the city on 3 March 1280. G.M. Quintarelli, *Deli uomini illustri bagnoresi del clero secolare. Memorie* (Rome 1896), pp.224-292; Buccolini (1947), p.46; Riccetti (2001), pp.195-198.

<sup>90</sup> For previous discussion of Bishop Francesco as initiator of the Cathedral Project in Orvieto and his ties to the Angevin dynasty, see Chapter 1, pp.12-14, Chapter 2, p.66 and Chapter 5, pp.181-182 of this thesis.

of his diocese differs from the Orvietan seal (Figs. 236, 237).<sup>91</sup> Until only recently historians have been divided over the attribution of Francesco as being a member of the Monaldeschi clan. This was based on Perali's reading of two copies of Francesco's seal on which he could find no reference to the bishop's coat of arms.<sup>92</sup> Close examination of the seal in the Archivio di Stato of Florence by Riccetti revealed the Monaldeschi crest confirming Quintarelli's original claim (Fig.236).<sup>93</sup> The position of the Monaldeschi shield on the tunic worn by the bishop has no precedents in thirteenth-century episcopal seals, which considering the unadventurous iconographic representation of the full figure of the bishop on Francesco's seal, common to many thirteenth-century episcopal seals, is highly unusual.<sup>94</sup> After close examination of the seal it is clear to me however that Perali was probably correct and that the 'Monaldeschi' crest is in fact a part of the decorative band running along the lower hem of the bishop's tunic. This observation reopens the debate as to whether Bishop Francesco was in fact a member of the Monaldeschi family or not, as seal no. 41 in the Florentine State Archives can no longer be cited as proof that Francesco was a member of the Orvietan Guelf Family.<sup>95</sup>

The prime instigator of Orvieto's new cathedral, Francesco was also involved in the construction and reallocation of many churches within the diocese. Already in 1280 he is said to have founded the Church of Santa Lucia at the castle of Polzano, and in 1288 the bishop laid the foundation stone of both the Benedictine nuns' church dedicated to San Pancrazio in the city and the Church of Santo Spirito of the Armenian

<sup>91</sup> « EPI VRBEVETANI » on the Orvietan seal is substituted for « EPI FLORENTINI » on Francesco's seal as bishop of Florence. S. Ricci, 'Sigillo di Francesco Monaldeschi', *La civiltà del libro in Orvieto. Materiali per lo studio della decorazione dei codici nei secoli XI-XV*, ex. Cat. Chiostro di San Giovanni, Orvieto 27 March-30 April 1991 (Perugia 1991), p.104; F. Cerri, 'Qualche nota sulla raccolta dei sigilli nel Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto', *La civiltà del libro in Orvieto. Materiali per lo studio della decorazione dei codici nei secoli XI-XV*, ex. Cat. Chiostro di San Giovanni, Orvieto 27 March-30 April 1991 (Perugia 1991), p.101; P. Perali, *Orvieto*, 2nd. ed. (Rome 1979), pp.78, 117.

<sup>92</sup> P. Perali, 'Le origini del Duomo d'Orvieto (1284-1309)', Appendix to R. Bonelli, 'Uno studio inedito di Pericle Perali', *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by L. Riccetti (Rome 1988), p.20.

<sup>93</sup> The seal is contained in the Archivio dello Stato di Firenze, *Sigilli staccati*, n.41. Quintarelli (1896), pp. 224-292; Riccetti (2001), pp.195-198.

<sup>94</sup> This observation arose from a conversation with Dottore Simone Sartini at the State Archives in Florence.

<sup>95</sup> Various conversations and written communications with the Dott.ssa Stefania Ricci at the State Archives in Rome and Dottore Simone Sartini at the State Archives in Florence (for whose generous contribution to this argument I am grateful), and a visit to the Florentine Archives to see the seal in person have convinced me that in fact the 'crest' is the central part of the tunic's decorative border. On close inspection it is possible to discern the same pattern continued at the sides of the bishop's legs. Where the drapery defines the shins of the bishop the pattern has either disappeared or was never impressed by the seal.

monks, just outside the city walls (Figs. 183, 184).<sup>96</sup> Another early move in 1283 was to allocate the Church and Monastery of San Gregorio di Sualto on the outskirts of Orvieto to the Silvestrine monks at the Hermitage of Montefano near Fabriano in the Marche.<sup>97</sup>

Piccolomini-Adami cites an inscription held in the Archivio Vescovile in Orvieto referring to the church of Santo Spirito situated on the road to Montefiascone, which claims that Bishop Francesco was present at the church's foundation together with brother Petrus de Arminia, the chaplain of Sant'Andrea Petro Signorelli, Abbot Stephano of the monastery of San Niccolò at Montorvetano and «...*praesentibus Domino Theodorico Priore S. Andreae, praesbiter...*» (Fig. 183).<sup>98</sup> The reference places these two key Orvietan personalities in the same place at the same time, and given the bishop's strong Angevin connections, one wonders whether Francesco may have encouraged Theodoric's nomination as Archbishop elect of Palermo by the newly crowned Pope Celestine V in 1294.<sup>99</sup> Francesco had after all been one of the three carefully selected delegates sent by the conclave of cardinals in Perugia to deliver the news of Pietro Morrone's election to the papal throne to the hermit himself on 5 July 1294.<sup>100</sup> It was common for bearers of such tidings to receive generous gifts of recognition and in fact another messenger, the Archbishop of Lyon Bérard de Got was named cardinal bishop of Albano by Pope Celestine V only two months later.<sup>101</sup> Bishop

<sup>96</sup> Buccolini (1947), pp.48-49; Carpentier (1986), p.45; Rossi Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.193, doc.7.3.40.

<sup>97</sup> Prior to this the monastery had been reluctantly placed under the jurisdiction of the cistercian Abbey of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata. Bishop Francesco appears to have been particularly generous to the Silvestrine order, which possibly settled in Bagnoregio during his bishopric in Orvieto. After being transferred to the see of Florence, Francesco laid the foundation stone of the Silvestrine monastery of San Marco and one year later formed a parish which was to be governed by the Silvestrine order. The bishop's generosity with the Silvestrine order is particularly interesting, considering his role as initiator of the new cathedral in Orvieto and that of the Silvestrine monk fra Bevignate at the the same cathedral. Bevignate was enigmatically entitled '*operaio*' at the Opera of the cathedral in a document of 1295, which also clarifies that he had the power to select workers for the cathedral. It remains unclear and continues to be an object of debate whether the monk was simply an administrator or if he also had a hand in the cathedral design at its initial stages. I would like to thank Dr. Louise Bourdua for allowing me to read her unpublished paper on the artistic role of members of religious orders in civic architecture, from which much of this information is drawn. Riccetti (1996), p.195, n.94, 201, n. 113; A. Divinziani, 'Francesco Monaldeschi Vescovo di Orvieto e di Firenze', *Boll. Dell'Ist. Storico Artistico Orvietano*, XXII (1966), p.33; Buccolini (1947), pp.47-48; Fumi (2002), p.8.

<sup>98</sup> The foundation stone was laid by the bishop personally on 10 February 1288. For the full transcription of the inscription, see Chapter 4, p.154, n.100.

<sup>99</sup> Waley (1957), p.142; Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>100</sup> The other two messengers were Bérard de Got, Archbishop of Lyon, who had been in close contact with both cardinal Benedetto Caetani and cardinal Gerardo da Parma during their time as papal legates in France in 1290 and Pandolfo, bishop of Patti in Sicily, who had served as papal chaplain and was an experienced diplomat of the papal court. Herde suggests that Benedetto Caetani and Gerardo da Parma were probably behind the nomination of Bérard de Got. One wonders who was behind Francesco's nomination, was he nominated under Angevin insistence? Or was he too an acquaintance of Cardinal Caetani? Eubel (1960), p.11; P. Herde, *Celestino V, il papa angelico* (L'Aquila 2004), p.87.

<sup>101</sup> Herde (2004), p.86.

Francesco of Orvieto appears not to have received any such titles, however Celestine V did name Theodoric archbishop elect of Palermo during his brief occupancy of the papal throne.<sup>102</sup> What is more, while Boniface VIII cancelled many 'Celestinian appointments' before leaving Naples on 27 December 1294, Theodoric's career moved in quite the opposite direction.<sup>103</sup>

The death of Archbishop Ruggieri of Pisa caused Boniface VIII to announce on 20 September 1295 that he intended to nominate Theodoric to the empty see.<sup>104</sup> Theodoric seems to have appointed a vicar to his seat as he had been charged by Boniface VIII with the difficult and unpleasant task of finding the fleeing ex-pope Pietro Morrone and accommodating him on the Isle of Martana in the middle of Lake Bolsena within the State of Orvieto.<sup>105</sup> By the end of August 1295, after a failed attempt to escape to Greece and two months under house arrest at Anagni where the papal court was located, Pietro was taken to Castel Fumone, where he was guarded day and night as ordered by Theodoric. On the evening of 19 May 1296, Morrone died. Theodoric was at Fumone at the time of his death.<sup>106</sup> In the same year, Theodoric became chamberlain to Boniface VIII, one of the most powerful positions at the papal court, which he held until 1300.<sup>107</sup> On 4 December 1298 Boniface VIII promoted Theodoric to the cardinalate, naming him Cardinal of Santa Crucis in Jerusalem.<sup>108</sup> In June 1299 he became the first cardinal bishop of Città Papale, a position he held until his death in 1306.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Waley (1957), p.142; Waley (1985), p.199.

<sup>103</sup> T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London 1933), p.55.

<sup>104</sup> M. Ronzani, 'San Piero a Grado nelle vicende della chiesa pisana nei secoli XIII e XIV', *Nel segno di Pietro. La basilica di S. Piero a Grado da luogo della prima evangelizzazione a meta di pellegrinaggio medievale*, ed. by M.L. Ceccarelli Lemut and S. Sodi (Pisa 2003), pp.47.

<sup>105</sup> Ronzani (2003), p.48; Herde (2004), pp.180-181, n.29.

<sup>106</sup> Herde (2004), pp.182-192; Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>107</sup> Only one contemporary account exists giving work descriptions of the various positions at the papal court, the anonymous author unhelpfully declares that '*the office of the chamberlain is so vast that it cannot be well described*'. However, the papal chamberlain controlled incoming revenue and payments to the curia within the papal court. He managed the flow of gifts in and out of the treasury. He was responsible for the property and churches administered directly by the papacy and the papal court was also under his jurisdiction. Boespflug (2005), p.421; Paravicini Bagliani (Rome 1996), p.70; Boase (1933), p.127.

<sup>108</sup> From 1297 on Theodoric was one of Boniface VIII's most trusted servants according to Boase. Boase (1933), p.127; Waley (1957), p.142; Eubel (1960), p.12; Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>109</sup> Waley writes that Theodoric died on 7 December 1306. Zucchelli reports that the cardinal died in Palestrina and cites Tronci as his source. Tronci does not actually say that Palestrina was where Theodoric died however: "...e poi nell'anno 1299 fatto Vescovo Prenestino, e che morì Legato del Patrimonio il 1306 il dì di 7 dicembre". P. Tronci, *Annali Pisani* (Lucca 1829), III, p.57; N. Zucchelli, *Cronotassi dei Vescovi e Arcivescovi di Pisa* (Pisa 1907), pp.108-109; D.P. Waley, 'A Register of Boniface VIII's Chamberlain, Theodoric of Orvieto', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, VIII (1957), p.142; Eubel (1960), p.12; L. Riccetti, 'Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi e l'avvio del cantiere (1295-1301), *La cattedrale e la città. Saggi sul Duomo di Firenze*, Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze-Atti della settimana di studi interdisciplinari promossa dall'Opera di S. Maria del Fiore, Florence



Close observation of Theodoric's ecclesiastic career reveals that the man was regularly employed to collect money. This was a skill he shared with his compatriot Francesco, who as bishop of Orvieto was used as collector of the papal tenth in the Marches and Emilia by Boniface VIII in 1295.<sup>110</sup> As an indication of Theodoric's character, this portrays someone with considerable diplomatic skills, who it was difficult to say 'no' to.<sup>111</sup> He was evidently well-learned as he had earned the title *magister*, which indicates a university education.<sup>112</sup> His ecclesiastic career was initiated in 1275 as prior at the Church of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto (Fig. 25).<sup>113</sup> This church, located in the civic centre of Orvieto, was where all the taxes *in recognitionem dominii* were paid yearly to the city on the Eve of the feast of the Assumption, and it is feasible that Theodoric's formation as a tax collector began there.<sup>114</sup> According to Boespflug, in the same year the prior was named papal chaplain by Pope Gregory X and assigned with collecting the papal tenth in Germany.<sup>115</sup> Waley writes that Pope Martin IV also named him papal chaplain while he was in residence in Orvieto and made him «*collector decimae in Alamania*».<sup>116</sup>

It is curious to note a document in the papal registers of Martin IV dated Montefiascone, 15 July 1282 which is addressed to both Theodoric and *magister* Alirone, canon of San Marco in Venice, who in conjunction with Theodoric was collector of the papal tenth in «...*Salzburgensi provintia et Pragensi, Olomucensi et Bambergensi civitatibus et diocesibus provintiae Maguntinae*...». The fact that

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16-21 June 1997, ed. by T. Verdon and A. Innocenti, 3 vols. (Florence 2001), I, p.196. For the date of his appointment as cardinal bishop of Città Papale, see Waley (1985), p.199 and Boase (1933), p.183.

<sup>110</sup> Earlier in his ecclesiastical career Benedetto Caetani had also been responsible for collecting the papal tenth. Pope Hadrian V had entrusted him with the supervision of the papal tenth in France in 1276 (at the same time Theodoric was responsible for collecting the papal taxes in Germany). In 1289 he was employed again in connection with the papal tenth by Nicholas IV in 1289. Boase (1933), p.14; Boespflug (2005), p.138.

<sup>111</sup> Francesco's diplomatic skills must also have been well honed, considering the amount of negotiating needed to initiate two cathedrals (the cathedrals of Orvieto and Florence were both initiated while Francesco was bishop of the cities), and his work as papal nunzio for Nicholas IV in 1290 in Alessandria and 1291 in Venice. Divinziani (1966), p.33.

<sup>112</sup> Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>113</sup> Documentation of Theodoric appears only three years after Francesco is recorded as canon at the cathedral of Bagnoregio and appeared before Pope Gregory X in Orvieto in 1272. Francesco died on 10 October 1302, four years prior to Theodoric, who died on 7 December 1306. The two men seem to have been involved in local ecclesiastical politics at around the same time and their diplomatic potential was quickly recognised by the papal court as Francesco was Bishop of Melfi in 1278 and Theodoric was already collector of the Papal Tenth in Germany in 1275. Boespflug (2005), p.421; Fumi (1884), p.371.

<sup>114</sup> W. Valentini, *La insigne collegiata dei Ss. Bartolomeo e Andrea di Orvieto. Documenti e note* (Orvieto 1920), p.6.

<sup>115</sup> Boespflug (2003), p.421.

<sup>116</sup> Waley (1985), p.199; *Reg.Mar.IV*, 222 (10 July 1282), 223 (15 July 1282), 241 (21 January 1283), 244-245 (13 January 1283), 531 (27 November 1284), 533 (2 December 1284), 536 (29 November 1284), 537 (9 December 1284), 558 (18 December 1284).

Theodoric was working closely with a canon of San Marco in Venice is interesting considering the use of mosaic work in the facade programme of the cathedral of Orvieto – for which detailed plans had already been drawn by the final years of the thirteenth century (Fig. 6). Gardner has suggested that this unusual combination of mosaic work with bronze sculpture and base reliefs at Orvieto can be seen in relation with the employment of the same medium on the facade of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (Figs. 67, 68). Theodoric was travelling to and from Germany from 1275 through to 1290, and it is not unlikely that during those fifteen years he stopped off in Venice regularly *en route*. It is even more probable considering his Venetian acquaintance at the chapter of San Marco. Bishop Francesco's diplomatic voyage as papal legate to Venice on 13 August 1291 is also pertinent regarding this Orvieto-Venice connection.<sup>117</sup>

Both Pope Honorius IV and Pope Nicholas IV continued to use Theodoric as a tax collector in France and Germany.<sup>118</sup> Nicholas IV's early appreciation of Theodoric may well have been demonstrated in August 1290, when he issued an indulgence of one year and forty days to the prior's Church of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto.<sup>119</sup> As the papal registers of 1291 record no communication with Theodoric north of the alps, it is probable that he was residing in his home town when Benedetto Caetani was ordained priest and was named Cardinal priest of St. Martin in Montibus by Pope Nicholas IV in Orvieto at some time before 3 October 1291.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Macchioni (1956), p.229; J. Gardner, 'The facade of the Duomo at Orvieto', *De l'art comme mystagogie Iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*. Actes du Colloque de la fondation Hardt tenu à Genève du 13 au 16 février 1994 (Poitiers 1996), p.202.

<sup>118</sup> *Reg.Hon.IV*, 114-116 (1 September 1285), 153-159 (27 September 1285), 428 (23 March 1286); *Reg.Nic.IV*, 151 (17 June 1288), 2516 (20 March 1290), 2517 (21 March 1290), 2518 (22 March 1290); Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>119</sup> «*Indulgentiam unius anni et XL dierum concedit eis qui...pro ecclesia Sancti Andreae Urbevetana. Dat. Apud Urbemveterem, II kalendas septembris, anno tertio*». This indulgence of 31 August 1290 was issued in Orvieto five months after Nicholas IV's last letter regarding Theodoric's collection of the papal taxes in Germany, dated 20 March 1290. *Reg.Nic.IV*, 2516 (20 March 1290), 3125 (31 August 1290).

<sup>120</sup> Benedict had been named cardinal deacon of San Niccolò in carcere by Pope Martin IV in Orvieto on 12 April 1281. Valentini writes that the consistory in which Benedetto was elected cardinal was held in the church of Sant'Andrea on 24 May 1281. The ceremony probably took place in the church of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto, which was where Martin IV had been crowned pope on 23 March of the same year by the Savelli cardinal of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. As the foundations of the new cathedral of Santa Maria had been begun already in 1290, it is improbable that the second nomination ceremony of cardinal Benedetto Caetani took place in Orvieto's cathedral. Two other churches were used regularly in the cathedral's stead in the Middle Ages: Sant'Andrea and San Francesco. Sant'Andrea, was traditionally considered the appropriate substitute for the cathedral, whereas the Franciscan church seemed to have been preferred later by Boniface VIII, who celebrated both the funeral of Henry of Almain and the canonisation of King Louis IX in the church. It is unclear which church Nicholas IV would have preferred for the Benedetto's second promotion ceremony, however if it were indeed celebrated in Sant'Andrea, Theodoric would have been a key figure during the preparations. Valentini (1920), pp. 4-5; Boase (1933), pp.25-26; Eubel (1960), p.10.

Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto then was well educated, had travelled extensively in Germany and France and is likely to have visited the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. Unlike Bishop Francesco however, no documents in the cathedral archives link him to the Orvietan cathedral project, whose evolution coincides too neatly with the cardinal's career to be dismissed. Two very personal items testifying to his refined taste in art however do remain: his seals. The matrix of Theodoric's seal as Bishop-elect of Palermo, a position to which he was elevated by the newly crowned Pope Celestine V, is now housed in the Corvisieri collection of seals in Rome (Figs. 238, 239).<sup>121</sup> The survival of the seal matrix is unusual in itself, as one would expect that this elaborate sign of authentication would have carefully been eliminated once its owner was no longer in possession of the necessary credentials (Fig. 238).<sup>122</sup> Theodoric's enthusiasm for his newly acquired position is almost indecorous; after all he was probably in Orvieto at the time of his nomination, therefore why the hasty fabrication of his seal before being consecrated? Unlike many of the bishops elected in northern Europe, there was not likely to have been any great distance preventing him from journeying to the pope and being consecrated.<sup>123</sup>

The iconography of Theodoric's seal is also revealing (Fig. 239). It has a complex three-tiered layout, which was again almost unseemingly sophisticated for a prior only recently named bishop-elect, but has a lot in common with his later four tiered cardinal's seal. The narrative at the centre of the seal is in recognition of the bishop-elect's first titular church, that of Sant'Andrea in Orvieto. Saint Andrew steps out of a boat, his left hand reaching towards the standing figure of a blessing Christ and holding his attribute of the cross in his right (Fig. 240).<sup>124</sup> The ambitious bishop-elect's choice of subject is oddly sentimental.

<sup>121</sup> «† S. THEODERICI . PORIS . SCI . ANDREE . VRBEVETAN . DNI . PP . CAPLLI . ELECTI . PANORMITANI.» D. Petrella, *Inventario dei sigilli Corvisieri*, Esposizione Internazionale di Roma 1911, Mostre Retrospettive in Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome 1911), inv. 63; Boespflug (2005), p.421.

<sup>122</sup> J. Gardner, 'Some Cardinals' Seals of the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975), p.73.

<sup>123</sup> Theodoric is last documented in the papal registers as collector of the papal tenth in Germany and France in 1290, a good four years prior to his nomination as bishop-elect of Palermo. It is highly unlikely that he received the news of his nomination while abroad. See this Chapter, p.197. n.118 in this Chapter for papal register entries. Theodoric's rapidity in procuring his seal is not unusual. Gardner says that a seal matrix can probably be dated to shortly after a cardinal's elevation. However, in Theodoric's case, surely his seal would have been more authoritative if it declared him 'bishop' rather than 'bishop-elect'? Gardner (1975), p.75.

<sup>124</sup> The scene repeats The Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew - ostentatiously without the figure of Peter - which is shown of a side panel of the altarpiece of San Pietro Enthroned (1280) in the Pinacoteca in Siena or in Duccio's later rendering of the same subject for his *Maestà* (1308-1311). "Maestro di San Pietro", Saint Peter enthroned, Originally in the destroyed Church of San Pietro in Banchi in Siena now in the Pinacoteca of Siena in P. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena* (Genoa 1990), pp.18-20. Duccio

It is a hagiographic type of seal, similar to that of the English cardinal priest of San Lorenzo, John of Toledo (1245) (Fig. 241).<sup>125</sup> The narrative scene sits between the kneeling prior below and the Virgin and child enthroned above, in a composition similar to Pietro Colonna's earlier seal as cardinal deacon of Sant'Eustachio (May 1288-May 1297) of the same hagiographic type (Fig. 242).<sup>126</sup> On Pietro Colonna's seal only the bust of the Virgin holding the Christ child is shown, whereas Theodoric's more detailed composition illustrates full figures of the crowned Virgin and child in a high backed throne, complete with cushion (Fig. 240).<sup>127</sup> This version of the Virgin and child enthroned is closer to the seal of the Franciscan cardinal priest of San Martino ai Monti Gentile da Montefiore's (1309) or that of the Bishop of Arezzo Guido Tarlati (1312), both of which post-dated Theodoric's seal by at least fifteen years (Figs. 243, 244).<sup>128</sup> Theodoric's ambitious enthusiasm is also demonstrated by the exaggerated dimensions of his seal as bishop-elect (68 x 42 mm), compared to the more moderate dimensions of the cardinal's seal (64 x 40 mm) and that of the Arezzo bishop (66 x 42 mm) (Figs. 239, 243, 244).<sup>129</sup> Both of these later seals were probably commissioned of Sienese goldsmiths by these exalted members of the ecclesiastical community who were known admirers and patrons of Sienese artists.<sup>130</sup> Gentile da Montefiore employed Simone Martini to decorate the Chapel of Saint Martin in the Lower Church of San Francesco in

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di Buoninsegna (Sienese, c. 1255-1318), *The Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew*, 1308/1311, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1939.1.141.

<sup>125</sup> Later as cardinal bishop of Porto, John founded the female cistercian monastery of Santa Trinità in Orvieto, where he preached the crusade against the Saracens on 14 July 1264. R. Valentini, 'Il convento della Trinità presso Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 2 (1946), p.1. For the 'hagiographic seal type' and John of Toledo, see Gardner (1975), pp.78-81.

<sup>126</sup> Gardner (1975), p.12, 86-87.

<sup>127</sup> "Superiamente la Vergine con tunica, manto e corona col Figlio sul braccio destro....Il trono della Vergine rotondo, con ampia spalliera e cuscino". Petrella (1911), inv.113.

<sup>128</sup> Impression of seal of Gentile da Montefiore O.F.M., cardinal priest of San Martino ai Monti from March 1300, died in 1312 (Impression dates to 1309), Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, SL 115 (65 x 40 mm), Legend: 'S' FRIS. GETIL' ORD. MIN. DI GRA. (SANCTI MARTI)NI. IMOTIB' PSBRI. CARDINAL'. Seal Impression of Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, bishop from 7 July 1312 – excommunicated 1325 (Impression on a document dated 3 December 1320), Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, n. 75 (66 x 42 mm), Legend: 'S(IGILLVM). GVIDONIS. DIVINS. MISERATIONE. EP(SCOP)I. ARETIN(I). Gardner (1975), p.95.

<sup>129</sup> Gardner (1975), p.95.

<sup>130</sup> Cioni attributes the seals of Matteo d'Acquasparta, Gentile da Montefiore, Guido Tarlati and the second seal of Cardinal Theodoric to the Sienese goldsmith Guccio di Mannaia. Gardner limits his observations to remarking on the similarities of the three seals (he does not discuss Guido Tarlati's seal) in their 'fundamental divisions' and draws a parallel between the Crucifixion scene on Theodoric's later seal and the same scene in translucent enamel on the Chalice of Nicholas IV in Assisi by Guccio di Mannaia. Theodoric of Orvieto and Gentile da Montefiore were definitely acquainted when in 1301 they presented Gentile's sixteen year-old un-tonsured nephew for nomination as deacon and canon at the Cathedral of Breslau in Poland. Gardner (1975), p.95; E. Cioni, 'Sigillo di Matteo d'Acquasparta, dell'ordine dei frati minori vescovo di Porto e di Santa Rufina (2 agosto 1300)', 'Sigillo di Guido Tarlati vescovo di Arezzo', *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese*, ed. by A. Bagnoli et al., Siena Santa Maria della Scala-Museo dell'Opera del Duomo 4 October 2003-11 January 2004 (Milan 2003), pp.448-450, 456; Boespflug (2005), p.165.

Assisi and Guido Tarlati was behind Pietro Lorenzetti's commission for the Polyptych of the Pieve of Santa Maria in 1320 (Figs. 245, 246).<sup>131</sup>

In his first seal as bishop-elect of Palermo, Theodoric portrays himself as an innovative and Orvietan patron of the arts and seems to draw his inspiration from the latest three-tiered model of cardinals seals, rather than the frontal representation of the full figure of a bishop framed by an architectural niche, common to bishops' seals of the Dugento (Figs. 237, 239).<sup>132</sup> Amongst the seals which can be associated with his 1294 model, only that of Matteo d'Acquasparta, cardinal bishop of Porto predates it (Fig. 247).<sup>133</sup> That Theodoric was personally acquainted with some of the most accomplished goldsmiths from Siena is testified to by more than the stylistic attributions of his second seal to Guccio di Manaia, who signed and dated Pope Nicholas IV's chalice in Assisi (Figs. 248, 250).<sup>134</sup> In 1297 Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto intervened on behalf of Magister Pax Aurifex de Senis in order to put a stop to brigands who were molesting the goldsmith's fief at Montefiascone.<sup>135</sup> Both the goldsmith Pace di Valentino and the cardinal in his youth, had worked for Pope Nicholas III and may well have become acquainted on this early occasion (Figs. 238, 249).<sup>136</sup> Whatever their history, the Sienese goldsmith most definitely knew Theodoric personally, as by 1297 he was already papal chamberlain and was highly unlikely to have had the time or interest to swoop in to the rescue of a master goldsmith in his house in Montefiascone, unless he had a personal concern in the matter.

<sup>131</sup> According to Martindale the Chapel of Saint Martin was painted by Simone Martini between 1312 and 1319. A document published by Hock in 1985 records a gift of 600 gold florins from Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore to the Franciscan convent in Assisi of March 1312, which was probably intended to finance the construction of the St. Martin Chapel in Assisi. The document commissioning Pietro Lorenzetti with the *Polittico della Pieve* dates to 1320 and is complete with additional clauses dictated by Tarlati. A. Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford 1988), pp.174-181; C. Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, ed. by M. Lucco (Milan 1989), p.58; Cioni (2003), p.456; Hoch (1985), pp. 142, 144.

<sup>132</sup> See Bishop Francesco's seal. Seal Impression of Francesco Monaldeschi, Bishop of Florence, 1296-1301, Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, n. 38 and 41 (59 x 35 mm., inv. 38; 59 x 36 mm., inv. 41), Legend: 'S / ? FRANCISCI DEI / GRA(TIA) / E(PISCO)PI FLORENTI / NI'. Riccetti (2005), pp.330-333.

<sup>133</sup> Seal Impression of Matteo d'Acquasparta, cardinal bishop of Porto from 1291 (Impression on a document dated 5 July 1294), Città del Vaticano, *Archivio Vaticano*, SL108 (55 x 40 mm), Legend: '†S'. FRIS. MATH'I. ORD. MINOR'. DEI. GRA. EPI. PORTUEN T SCE: RU INE'. Gardner (1975), p.89.

<sup>134</sup> D.L. Bemporad, 'Oreficerie e Avori', *Il tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi* (Assisi 1980), pp.123-125.

<sup>135</sup> Boespflug (2005), p.337.

<sup>136</sup> Besides being Nicholas III's papal chaplain, Theodoric was responsible for collecting the taxes in Germany for the papacy and not all payments were necessarily monetary. If some payments were made in precious metals or stones, it was likely that the prior of Sant'Andrea delivered them to the papal treasury, or had them valued by papal goldsmiths, such as Pace.

Theodoric's artistic manifestations of grandeur did not diminish with maturity. His second seal superseded his first in size, measuring 74 x 43 mm (Fig. 248).<sup>137</sup> The three tiered motif of his earlier seal is increased to a four-level composition defined by beautiful Gothic architecture. The cardinal abandons the hagiographic type of iconography and opts for a Crucifixion scene similar to the Franciscan Matteo d'Acquasparta's principal narrative scene on the third tier of his seal (Fig. 247). As mentioned above, the exaggerated *hanchement* of the figure of Christ on the cross has a strong affinity with Guccio di Mannaia's work on the Assisi chalice of 1292 (Fig. 250).<sup>138</sup> The usual trio of Christ on the cross between the grieving figures of Mary and John are flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, who as the foremost apostles, are probably represented in an overt reference to the cardinal's new *titulus*: Civitatis Papalis (Fig. 248). The unusually wide cornice topped by a trifoliate arch is quite un-Italian and reminiscent of the architectonic framing device repeated in the wall paintings of the Life of Saint Maurille, commissioned by Charles I of Anjou for the Cathedral at Angers.<sup>139</sup>

Above the Crucifixion is a much damaged bust of God the Father. Below the Crucifixion, the two standing saints under fine trifoliate arches are difficult to name (Fig. 248). Cioni suggests that the saint on the left holding the cross in his left hand is John the Baptist.<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately, it is not easy to see if the saint is wearing the traditional hides under his mantle, which would make the attribution irrefutable as the saint also holds the cross and a scroll in his hands, and has the characteristic long hair and beard of the Baptist.<sup>141</sup> Given the condition of the seal impression, it cannot be excluded at this stage that the saint could be Andrew, brother of Saint Peter and initially a disciple of the Baptist.<sup>142</sup> Andrew, holding his attribute the cross in his left hand, had figured prominently on Theodoric's first seal and was the *titulus* of his first ecclesiastic appointment (Fig. 239). Moreover, in 1299 when this second seal was designed, the cardinal was chamberlain to the pope, a position of considerable judicial and decisional

<sup>137</sup> Theodoric cardinal bishop of Civitas Papalis from 13 June 1299 (Two seal impressions on documents dating to 17 June 1300 in Florence and 1302 in Paris), Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, n.43 and Paris, Archives Nationales, D6173 (74 x 43 mm), Legend: 'S(IGILLVM). THEODERICI. DEI GRA(TIA) EP(ISCOP)I. CIVITATIS.PAPALIS'. Cioni (2003), p.454; Gardner (1975), p. 95.

<sup>138</sup> The *hanchement* of Christo's figure is more exaggerated on Theodoric's seal than that of Matteo d'Acquasparta's. This is unsurprising considering that the Franciscan's seal predates Theodoric's by eight years.

<sup>139</sup> M.P. Subes-Piquot, 'Remarques sur l'aménagement liturgique de l'abside de la cathédrale d'Angers et la disposition des images du cycle peint au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 46 (1998), pp.129-150.

<sup>140</sup> Cioni (2003), p.454.

<sup>141</sup> Saint Andrew also has a long thin cross and scroll as his attributes, and wore his hair long with a beard. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence 1965), c. 59-60.

<sup>142</sup> John, 1:40

power, which only in extreme cases required the personal intervention of the pope.<sup>143</sup> Given Theodoric's lack of modesty in his seal design up until this point, it could only be considered 'in character' if this second portrayal of Saint Andrew - the Apostle and brother of Saint Peter - was a covert reference to his relationship to Boniface (Fig. 248). The identity of the saint in the neighbouring niche is even more mysterious. Both Gardner and Cioni generically have named the saint 'a crowned female martyr'.<sup>144</sup> Again the miniscule dimensions of the seal's representations and the condition of the impressions makes it almost impossible to read. However, the saint holding the martyr's palm is not necessarily a female and could well be a crowned male saint in contemporary dress with cropped hair, similar to contemporary representations of Sant'Ansano for example. This saint is shown in the act of blessing with his right hand, an incongruous gesture from a martyr saint dressed in such secular attire. The kneeling figure of the cardinal below faces Saint Andrew (?) in a position of prayer.

#### Memory of the Curia in Orvieto: Thomas of Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford

The female monastery of Santa Trinità built just outside the walls of Orvieto by the Englishman Cardinal John of Toledo has already been mentioned, as has the death of his saintly compatriot the bishop of Hereford Thomas Cantilupe whose entrails were buried at the Orvietan Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio (Figs. 180, 182).<sup>145</sup> It is likely that artistic monuments once commemorated the presence of both men in Orvieto.<sup>146</sup> Although no trace remains, the viscera of Thomas of Cantilupe in SS. Severo and Martirio were probably marked by a tomb. Thomas was the son of William of Cantilupe, minister to King John of England (1199-1216), nephew to Walter of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester (1236-1265), had served as Chancellor at the University of Oxford (1262-1264) and Lord Chancellor of England (1264-1265). His tomb at Hereford was already complete by 1287 and his cult following in England can be dated at least to 1290, well before his canonisation in 1330. All of which makes it highly improbable that his remains in Orvieto were placed in an unmarked grave. One wonders

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<sup>143</sup> Boase (1933), p.127.

<sup>144</sup> Gardner (1975), p.95; Cioni (2003), p.454.

<sup>145</sup> See Chapter 4, p.148, n.100 for Cardinal John of Toledo and this Chapter, p.190, n.79 for Thomas of Cantilupe.

<sup>146</sup> The Monastery of Santa Trinità still stands on the road leading towards Bagnoregio from Orvieto, but it is in a sorry state. Gardner (Assisi 1988), pp. 182-183.

if his entrails tomb might have vaguely resembled that of Louis IX in the Cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, who had died only twelve years earlier?<sup>147</sup>

### Cardinals' Tombs in the Church of San Domenico

#### Cardinal Guillaume de Bray

The city's churches must once have been richly decorated with the tombs of high ranking members of the clergy like the sepulchre of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray in the Church of San Domenico (Fig. 19). The French cardinal priest of San Marco had died in Orvieto on 29 April 1282, three days after drawing up his will.<sup>148</sup> A document from the Dominican archives suggests that the cardinal wished to be buried in the same church as the cardinal bishop of Tusculum Eudes de Châteauroux (d. 1273), who he had worked with as Master of the University of Paris in an advisory capacity in 1245.<sup>149</sup> The discerning choice of the tomb's author Arnolfo di Cambio was probably due to the executors of his will: the cardinals Ancher Pantaléon and Goffredo d'Alatri and papal chaplains *Magister* Guglielmo de Polleio, archdeacon of Le Mans and *Magister* Guglielmo de Esseio, canon of Chartres.<sup>150</sup> The epitaph on his tomb reads:

<sup>147</sup> J. Gardner, 'A Princess among Prelates: A fourteenth-century Neapolitan Tomb and some Northern Relations', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 23/24 (1988), pp.49-50.

<sup>148</sup> J. Gardner, '«SEPULCRUM...PERMAGNIFICUM ET SUMPTUOSUM INTER OMNIA SEPULCRA VICINA» A note on Cardinal Guillaume de Bray and his tomb in Orvieto by Arnolfo di Cambio', *Opere e giorni. Studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel*, ed. by K. Bergdolt and G. Bonsanti (Venice 2001), p.85.

<sup>149</sup> Paravicini Bagliani clarifies that Eudes de Châteauroux died in Orvieto and not Civitavecchia in 1273. Paravicini Bagliani (1972), pp.205-206. The record from the Dominican Archives of the bequests and sepulchre of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray made to the convent of San Domenico in Orvieto. «... *Et quia ipse venerabilis / dominus iaceat et iacet spultus in ecclesia fratrum Predicatorum / de Urbeveteri, sc. Iuxta altarem (sic.) beate Marie intra crates / ferreas, ratione sue sancte sepulture dominus Guililmus / cardinalis tituli Sancti Marci voluit construi in eadem ecclesia sacellum. / Cuius sepulcrum est permagnificum et sumptuosum inter omnia / sepulcra vicinia et Romana. Qui etiam dominus Gu/lielmus dimisit et legavit Urbe(ve)tano conventui*». Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.37; Gardner (2001), p.85; P. Refice, 'La tomba de Braye e i monumenti funebri con la figura del giacente', *Arnolfo di Cambio una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, ex. Cat. Perugia Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Orvieto, chiesa di Sant'Agostino, 7 July 2005 – 8 January 2006, ed. by V. Garibaldi and B. Toscano (Milan 2005), p.157.

<sup>150</sup> Ancher Pantaleon, cardinal priest of Sancti Praxedis and nephew of Pope Urban IV had paid for the site where the Augustinian church and convent was built. A. Satolli, 'Il complesso architettonico di S. Giovenale e S. Agostino a Orvieto', *B.I.S.A.O.*, 24 (1968), pp.17-18. Obituary records at the chapters of the Cathedral of Meaux Chartres suggest that of the four executors, *Magister* Guillaume d'Essai was the 'effective executant of de Bray's wishes'. Another obituary record at Chartres records the same Guillaume as testamentary executor of Charles I d'Anjou (d. 1285) only three years later, which may help to explain the Angevin arms displayed so prominently on the base of the de Bray tomb. Despite his withering words of disdain regarding de Bray after his choice to vote for Pope Nicholas III, Charles I seems to have forgiven the cardinal by the time of his death and may well have contributed towards the cost of his tomb. Something he had already done in the past for the sepulchres of the Emperor of Byzantium Baldwin II de Courtenay (d. 1273) and Pope Innocent V (c. 1276). A *Magister* Nicolaus de Esseyo, rector of the Church of Fulcosa (Feuilleuse, Eure-et-Loir) and papal chaplain with two prebends in the diocese of Chartres and Le Mans, became a *familiar* of Charles I Anjou, who employed him as a cleric and 'phisicus' from February 1267. Given the important role Guillaume d'Essai played at Charles' death, one wonders if he was linked to the elder Nicholas by parentage? Paravicini Bagliani (1972), I, p.



«SIT CHRISTO GRATUS HIC GUILLELMUS TUMULATUS  
 DE BRAIO NATUS MARCI TITULO DECORATUS  
 SIT PER TE MARCI COELI GUILLELMUS IN ARCE  
 QUAESO NON PARCE DEUS OMNIPOTENS SIBI PARCE  
 FRANCIA PLANGE VIRUM MORS ISTIUS TIBI MIRUM  
 DEFECTUM PARIET QUIA VOX SIMILIS SIBI FIET  
 DEFLEAT HUNC MATHESIS LEX ET DECRETA POESIS  
 NEC NON SINDHERESIS HEU MIHI QUAM THEMESIS  
 BIS SEX CENTENUS BINUS BIS BISQUE VICENUS  
 ANNUS ERAT CHRISTI OUANDO MORS AFFUIT ISTI  
 OBIIT TERTIO KALENDAS MAII  
 HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLPHUS»<sup>151</sup>

Two censuring angels measuring 58 cm in height now in the Museo dell'Opera at Orvieto are known to have been in the Church of San Domenico up until 1913 (Figs. 251, 252).<sup>152</sup> After the recent restoration of the De Bray funeral monument in Orvieto, it was decided not to include the two angels in the sepulchre's composition, because despite the stylistic similarities their position on the tomb is problematic (Fig. 18).<sup>153</sup> The two marble angels appear to advance with light dancing steps, swinging their censurers in a confident carefree manner similar to the decisive movements of the deacons drawing back the curtains to reveal the body of the deceased on the de Bray tomb (Figs. 251, 252).<sup>154</sup> They were probably originally located on the same 'terrestrial' median level of the funeral monument as the sarcophagus. Incense had a practical use in medieval churches where it masked the stench of decaying corpses and representations

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356; Paravicini Bagliani (1980), pp.34-37; Gardner (2001), p.87; J. Gardner, 'The tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray in its European context' (*Convegno Internazionale Il monumento del Cardinale Guillaume de Braye di Arnolfo di Cambio dopo il restauro, Rome-Orvieto 9-11 December 2004*), forthcoming publication, pp. 4-5.

<sup>151</sup> Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.229; Gardner (2001), p.86.

<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately both angels are now headless. The Censuring Angels are dated to 1282. L. Riccetti, 'Due accolti incensanti', *Arnolfo di Cambio una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale*, ex. Cat. Perugia Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Orvieto, chiesa di Sant'Agostino, 7 July 2005 – 8 January 2006, ed. by V. Garibaldi and B. Toscano (Milan 2005), p.268; E. Carli, *Arnolfo* (Firenze 1993), p.86.

<sup>153</sup> Riccetti (2005), p.268; *Le Stanze delle Meraviglie. Da Simone Martini a Francesco Mochi. Verso il nuovo museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. by A. Cannistrà, ex. Cat. Orvieto Palazzi Papali e chiesa di Sant'Agostino 13 April 2006 – 7 January 2007 (Milan 2006), pp.52-54.

<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately, the Christchild too is missing its head, the position of the torso however suggests that the child was perhaps reaching up to caress the face of its mother with its right hand. J. Gardner, *Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford 1992), p.100.

of it were likely to occur in the vicinity of the sarcophagus containing the defunct.<sup>155</sup> At the level above, Cardinal de Bray is portrayed kneeling in heavenly realms where corporeal odours no longer exist.<sup>156</sup> Virgin and child representations flanked by censing angels were also common iconographic motifs in Gothic art, which is an argument in support of moving angels to the upper zone of the tomb.<sup>157</sup> However on an almost contemporary tomb sculpted by Girollo da Como for Giovanni Ammanati in Pistoia, this iconography of the Madonna and child enthroned flanked by two censing angels, is sculpted in base relief on the sarcophagus holding the body of the deceased, which confirms that the portrayal of perfume on tombs was intrinsically linked to the area of the sepulchre representing the earthly body of the defunct.<sup>158</sup>

### Cardinal Hugues de Saint-Cher OP

San Domenico was favoured by the papal court in Orvieto as a burial church, and at least four cardinals were buried there (Fig. 23). It is not surprising that the first Dominican to be promoted to the cardinalate Hugues de Saint-Cher, who died in Orvieto in 1263, wished to be buried in what is traditionally recognised as the first church to be dedicated to the order's founding saint.<sup>159</sup> The following year his bones were transported to Lyon for burial in the Dominican church there.<sup>160</sup> Gardner suggests that Hugues' deposit tomb in Orvieto was probably a 'simple slab', similar to that of

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<sup>155</sup> Deacons cense the body within the canopy in Arnolfo's later tomb for Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi (d.1289) at San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, after which Arnolfo substituted the deacons of this world for censing angels from another, in his funeral monument for Pope Boniface VIII. Boniface's funeral chapel contained an inscription «*Hoc opus fecit Arnolphus architectus*» and was completed and consecrated on 6 May 1296. Gardner (1992), pp. 100,107.

<sup>156</sup> The kneeling cardinal is being presented to the Virgin and Child by Saint Mark, the namesake of his titular church, with Saint Dominic on the opposite side of the Virgin. Gardner suggests that the inscription slab has been misplaced in recent recompositions of the tomb and was perhaps located set beside the tomb similar to the sepulchre of Pope Benedict XI in Perugia. Gardner (1992), pp.99-100.

<sup>157</sup> An early sculptural representation of the Madonna and child between two censing angels is above the Portal of Saint Anne on the West facade of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris (c. 1165). W. Sauerländer, *Le cattedrali gotiche 1140-1260* (Milan 1991), p.22. R. Bartolini, *Scultura gotica in Toscana. Maestri, monumenti, cantieri del Due e Trecento* (Milan 2005), pp.40-46.

<sup>158</sup> The tomb sculpted by Girollo da Como for Giovanni Ammanati in circa 1285 has a Virgin and Child enthroned flanked by censing angels and saints sculpted in base relief on its sarcophagus. Originally the sepulchral monument was situated in the Franciscan church in Pistoia and is now housed in the Museo Civico of the town. Bartolini (2005), pp.40-46.

<sup>159</sup> Hugues, who studied Law at the University of Paris, was promoted to cardinal priest of Santa Sabina by Pope Innocent IV on 28 May 1244. There are two proposals for the exact date of his death, the fourteenth century Orvietan Dominican chronicle and the chronicle of Henricus de Hervordia record the 19 March 1263, whereas the necrology at the cathedral chapter in Paris postdates the death to 24 March 1263. Eubel (1913), p.7; Paravicini Bagliani (1972), I, pp.259, 264; Henricus de Hervordia, *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, ed. by A. Potthast (Göttingen 1859), p.199. For the Orvietan house being the first Dominican house dedicated to Saint Dominic, see: Cannon (1980), p.384.

<sup>160</sup> Cannon (1980), p.384.

Cardinal Hugues Aycelin at Santa Sabina in Rome.<sup>161</sup> The Sienese author Piccolomini-Adami recorded the epitaph commemorating the cardinal's Orvietan burial, which was possibly lifted from the chronicle of the Dominican friar Caccia, although it may well have been transcribed directly from the tomb by the author. Piccolomini Adami published his guide book in 1883 and the Church of San Domenico was reasonably intact until the demolition of its nave in 1934-1939.<sup>162</sup>

«ECLYPSIM PATITUR SAPIENTIAE SOL SEPELITUR  
FELICI FINE SANCTAE QUOQUE CARDO SABINAE  
ISTE FUIT PER QUEM PATUIT DOCTRINA SOPHIAE  
PRAECO DEI DOCTOR FIDEI CITHARISTA MARIE  
HUGO SIBI NOMEN ET CARDO PRAESBYTER OMEN  
PATRIA NATALIS BURGUNDIA ROMA LOCALIS  
SOLVITER IN CINERES HUGO CUI SI FORET HAERES  
IN TERRIS UNUS NON ESSET FLEBILE FUNUS»<sup>163</sup>

#### Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi OP

Following the precedent of his fellow Dominican, Cardinal Annibaldo Annibaldi OP also chose to be buried in the same church in Orvieto at his death on 15 October 1272 (Fig. 23).<sup>164</sup> As one of the major contributors to the works enlarging the Church of San Domenico, it is fitting that the cardinal priest of SS. XII Apostoli should be buried beside the church's high altar.<sup>165</sup> The epitaph on his tomb read:

«URBS GENITRIX, GENUS HANNIBALDUM,  
SORS PRAESBYTER, ORDO  
DOMINICI; FONS DIVINUS, PRAELATIO, CARDO,  
QUEM DECORAT TITULO DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM»<sup>166</sup>

<sup>161</sup> J. Gardner (1992), p.98, n.28.

<sup>162</sup> M.R. Paoletti, 'Demolizione e restauro nella chiesa di S. Domenico in Orvieto (1934-1939)', *Boll. Ist. Storico Artistico Orvietano*, 15 (1958), pp.40-50.

<sup>163</sup> A.M. Viel and P.M. Girardin, *Chronique du Couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orvieto* (Rome Viterbo, 1907), p. 32; Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.15, n.1; Gardner (1992), p.98, n.28.

<sup>164</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.22; Gardner (1992), p.20.

<sup>165</sup> Annibaldo Annibaldi della Molara was created cardinal priest of SS. XII Apostoli in Orvieto in May 1262 by Pope Urban IV, which may have prompted his generous donation towards building the church and convent of San Domenico in that same year. A.L. Redigonda, 'Annibaldo Annibaldi', *Dizionario Bibliografico Italiano*, 3, p.343; Cannon (1980), p.384, 476; Paravicini Bagliani (1972), I, p.22.

<sup>166</sup> Piccolomini Adami missed out the word 'Cardo', copied by Ciacconius when he transcribed the epitaph. A. Ciacconius, *Vitae, et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX. P.O.M.*, 4 vols. (Rome 1677), 2, p.163; Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.221, n.2; Gardner (1992), p.98, n.28.

Nothing of his tomb remains in San Domenico, which was definitively diminished in size in the renovation of 1934-1939, when its nave was demolished to make way for the Accademia Femile Fascista di Educazione.<sup>167</sup> Certainly if the design of Annibaldi's seal is anything to go by, he was a man of discerning taste and would have wished for something beautiful to mark his passage from this world to the next (Fig. 253).<sup>168</sup>

### Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux

The Frenchman Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux died only one year later in Orvieto, where he was placed in San Domenico «...iuxta altare beate Mariae infra crates ferreos» (Fig. 23).<sup>169</sup> It seems unlikely that the cardinal bishop of Tusculanum would have had a lot of figural sculptural decoration on his tomb if it was placed inside metal encasing.<sup>170</sup> However, Eudes had been a generous patron of the Dominican church at Orvieto while he was alive and as there is no reason to doubt why he would not continue to be one at his death, his tomb was likely to have been beautiful. He had donated a golden chalice to the Dominican convent in Orvieto and a reliquary cross with a relic from the crown of thorns originally given to him by Louis IX.<sup>171</sup>

### Cardinals' tombs in the Church of San Francesco

#### Cardinal Bernard de Languissel

The Franciscan church appears to have surpassed its Dominican counterpart as the place for eternal rest in Orvieto when the order's pope, Nicholas IV took up residence in the city (Fig. 24). On 19 September 1290 another French cardinal, Bernard de Languissel died in Orvieto.<sup>172</sup> He had been named cardinal bishop of Porto by Pope Martin IV on

<sup>167</sup> Cannon (1980), p.387; Paoletti (1958), pp.40-50.

<sup>168</sup> Gardner (Convegno Rome-Orvieto 2004), p.3.

<sup>169</sup> Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux died in Orvieto in 1273. See this Chapter, p.203, n.149.

<sup>170</sup> Eudes had consecrated the upper church of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris on 25 April 1248 in the presence of King Louis IX while he was papal legate to France and his tomb may well have been similar to the entrait tomb of Louis IX (d. 1270) in the cathedral of Monreale. For photo: Gardner (*Römisches Jahrbuch* 1988), p.50.

<sup>171</sup> «Notandum quod iste venerabilis pater et magister in sacra theologia dedit conventui Urbevetano unum calicem totum aureum et crucem etiam ex toto ex auro una cum spina de corona Dni nri Ihu Xti quam spinam donavit btus Ludovicus rex Franciae praedicto Dno Cardinali, insuper dedit conventui supra dicto paramentum pulcrum de violatio, nec non et quam plura bona alia.» Paravicini Bagliani (1972), pp.205-206, n.9.

<sup>172</sup> The document regarding Bernard's death in Orvieto was contradicted by a later privilege recorded by Potthast (Potthast 23744), which the cardinal undersigned. Potthast's entry is however incorrect and the date of the cardinal's death in Orvieto is confirmed by an obituary entry for him at the Cathedral of Béziers. Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.46, n.1; F.Ughelli, N.Coleti, *Italia Sacra*, 10 vols. (Venice 1717-1722), I, col.139.

12 April 1281 in Orvieto in the same election as Benedetto Caetani.<sup>173</sup> He was buried near the high altar of the Franciscan church, where according to Piccolomini Adami the following epitaph appeared under his coat of arms on a marble slab with his effigy sculpted on it:<sup>174</sup>

*«Anno Dni MCCLXXX, videlicet XIII Kal Mensis Octobris Obiit.*

BON MEM. DOM. BERNARDUS EPISCOPUS PORTUENSIS.

HUNC REX AETERNAE PATRIAE SOCIARE SUPERNAE

PRO QUA MUNDANA REPUTAVIT GAUDIA VANA

ET MENS SOLLICITA FUIT... SUA VITA

CULPIS PURGATA UT PRORSUS FIERET TIBI GRATA».<sup>175</sup>

### Cardinal Jean Cholet

Jean Cholet was named cardinal priest of Santa Cecilia by Pope Martin IV in Orvieto on 12 April 1281. As fate would have it, he died in the same city while at the papal court of Nicholas IV on 1 August 1292.<sup>176</sup> His entrial tomb in the Franciscan church at Orvieto has been lost to time, as has his elegant canopied funeral monument once in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Lucien at Beauvais. A drawing of Gaignière remains of the French tomb, which does not however illustrate the silver effigy of the cardinal adorning it, melted down in 1359 to pay for war damages (Fig. 157).<sup>177</sup>

### Cardinal Simone de Beaulieu O.Cist.

A third cardinal's tomb was also located *«ante aram principam»* in the poor friars' church at Orvieto (Fig. 24).<sup>178</sup> Simone de Beaulieu en Brie was a Cistercian who had been abbot of La Charité in the diocese of Besançon, Archdeacon of Chartres and Archbishop of Bourges before being promoted cardinal bishop of Prenestina by Pope Celestine V on 18 September 1294.<sup>179</sup> He was well educated, with a master in theology

<sup>173</sup> Bernard had served as papal notary to Pope Gregory X from 1269 to 1273, when he was probably made Bishop of Arles. Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.46; Eubel (1913), p.10.

<sup>174</sup> Ciacconius writes *«E vita igitur Bernardus excessit non Romae, sed Urbeveteri, quò fecerat cum Nicolao IV ad nouae Cathedralis aedificationis initium spectandum, anno 1290 & sepultus ante aram principem Ecclesiae S. Francisci in pavimento, in marmoreo lapide cù sequenti Inscriptione, praetereuntii penè corros. ...In eodem marmoreo Lapide adhuc extat cum Inscriptione effigies, ac Bernardi insignia tribus fascijs exarata»*; Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148.

<sup>175</sup> A. Ciacconius, *Vitae et res gestae pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium ...cum notis ab Augustino Oldoino recognitae*, 4 vols. (Rome 1677), II, c.238; Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148.

<sup>176</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.250.

<sup>177</sup> See Chapter 3 of this thesis, pp.109, n.152. Gardner (1992), pp.91-92.

<sup>178</sup> Gardner (1992), p.92; Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148; Ciacconius (1677), II, c.284.

<sup>179</sup> Simone was archdeacon at Chartres from 1276-1281, after 1280 he became canon of St-Martin de Tours and canon at the cathedral in Bourges. Paravicini Bagliani claims his brother was abbot at the

from the University of Paris.<sup>180</sup> Known members of his *famiglia* were the Sienese Johannes Bonichi who was his chaplain, and his general vicar in the years 1286 and 1290 was Guillelmus Duranti.<sup>181</sup> His tomb slab in the Abbaye de Jouy, where his brother had once been abbot was placed before the main altar and showed his effigy in relief executed in enamelled copper (Fig. 254).<sup>182</sup> A second tomb, which probably contained his entrails, was that situated before the high altar of the Church of San Francesco in Orvieto.<sup>183</sup> A description of his tomb in Orvieto runs as follows: «*sepultum in Ecclesia S. Francisci ante aram principam cum insigni epitaphio nigro marmori inscripto, in praesens praetereuntium pedibus penitus attrito*».<sup>184</sup> The inscription, although incomplete, was transcribed by Ciacconius, who also added that «*In eodem sepulchro spectantur gentilitia, que supra expressimus, Simonis Insignia, quae in inferiori alveolo coeruleo septem nummos Bisuntinos aureos continent, & in superiori argenteo dimidiis Leo ruber existit*».<sup>185</sup>

«SIMONIS HAC FOSSA... TR...I... CARD...S... OSSA  
FRANCIA PAPATUS FUIT HUIC REGI QUOQUE GRATUS  
CARDO... PRAENE... BITURIS TANTA PIETAS,  
ANNO DNI. MCCNONAGESIMO VII,  
ET XVIII, DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI OBIIT.»<sup>186</sup>

The date of the cardinal's death on 18 August 1297 and the epitaph which Ciacconius copied from the tomb slab in the Franciscan church in Orvieto supports Paravicini

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Abbey of Saint-Colombe and that the anniversary of his death was celebrated at the cathedral at Chartres. He was elected archbishop of Bourges on 23 December 1281 by Pope Martin IV and probably travelled to Orvieto to be invested. He was also made archdeacon at Poitiers after 1281. Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148, n.1; Eubel (1913), p.11; Gardner (1992), p.92; Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.60, n.2; Boespflug (2005), pp.410-411.

<sup>180</sup> Boespflug (2005), p.410.

<sup>181</sup> It is interesting to note that in 1307 Guillelmus was in charge of the English canonisation inquest of Thomas of Cantilupe, who had died and was buried in Orvieto. Boespflug (2005), pp. 185, 411.

<sup>182</sup> His tomb no longer exists and is known from a drawn copy by Gaignières. Gardner (1992), p.92; J. Adhémar, G. Dordor, 'Les tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, 84 (1974), p. 84, n. 443.

<sup>183</sup> Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148.

<sup>184</sup> There was nothing unusual in the tomb slab being made of black/grey marble as tombs of a like can be found in the Franciscan Church of Aracoeli in Rome. Gardner (1992), p.92; G.J.Eggs, *Purpura Docta* 8 (Munich 1714), p.250.

<sup>185</sup> Ciacconius (1677), II, c.284. Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148.

<sup>186</sup> Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.148, Ciacconius (1677), II, c.284.

Bagliani and contradicts Boespflug's recent publication claiming that the cardinal died in Civitavecchia near Rome on return to the Curia in 1297.<sup>187</sup>

### Cardinal Berard de Got

Consensus has it that one of Simone de Beaulieu's closest companions in the papal curia, Berard de Got, also died in Orvieto.<sup>188</sup> As Archbishop of Lyon, Berard de Got had been the most distinguished member of the small party of messengers – which included Bishop Francesco of Orvieto – sent by the cardinals to Sulmona to announce Pietro Morrone's election as pope.<sup>189</sup> In 1290 he had worked closely with the papal legates cardinals Benedetto Caetani and Gerardo di Parma during the conflict at the chapter of Lyon, which ended in the city becoming annexed to France.<sup>190</sup> Celestine V named him cardinal bishop of Albano on 18 September 1294.<sup>191</sup> A little over a year later he began to work closely with Cardinal Simone de Beaulieu as the papal legates of Boniface VIII who were charged with quelling the Anglo-French war.<sup>192</sup> He died only a month before his companion in the curia on 27 July 1297 and was possibly buried in the same church.<sup>193</sup> Unfortunately the church of San Francesco was radically renewed between 1768 and 1773 and no sepulchral monuments survived the work.<sup>194</sup> The pope declared that the two men had died worn out by their work for peace.<sup>195</sup>

### Burying members of the Laity in Orvieto

#### The 'Red' Count, Ildebrandino XII Aldobrandeschi

The first important burial recorded taking place in the Franciscan church was a member of the laity. In his will, drawn up in Sovana – a city which had a cathedral of its own –

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<sup>187</sup> The only other explanation being that Simone de Beaulieu died in Civitavecchia, but was carried back to Orvieto for burial. This appears highly unlikely considering he died in the middle of August, at the height of the Mediterranean summer. One would imagine that if Simone had died in Civitavecchia, his entourage would have preferred to bury him there, rather than to travel with a rapidly decomposing corpse as far as Orvieto. Boespflug (2005), pp.410-411.

<sup>188</sup> Berard de Got was brother to Bertrand de Got, who was elected pope in Perugia on 5 June 1305 and crowned in Lyon on 14 November of the same year. It is interesting to note that he too employed Johannes Bonichi of Siena as his chaplain in 1295, as did Simone de Brie. Eubel (1913), p.13; Paravicini Bagliani (1972), p. 60; Boespflug (2005), p.94.

<sup>189</sup> Nicholas IV had nominated him archbishop of Lyon on 23 July 1289. Herde (2004), p.86.

<sup>190</sup> Herde (2004), p.86.

<sup>191</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1972), I, p.60.

<sup>192</sup> Berard de Got was papal legat to England while Simone de Beaulieu worked as papal legate to France. Boase (1933), pp.65-66; Boespflug (2005), p.94.

<sup>193</sup> Paravicini Bagliani (1972), I, p.60.

<sup>194</sup> Documentary evidence giving a firm date and whereabouts of Cardinal Berard de Got of Albano's demise is still inexistant at this stage, as is any reference to his tomb. Bonelli, 'La Chiesa di San Francesco in Orvieto e San Bonaventura', *Doctor Seraphicus*, 5 (1958), p.56.

<sup>195</sup> Boase (1933), p.203.

on 6 May 1284, the Palatine Count Ildebrandino Aldobrandeschi asked to be buried at San Francesco in Orvieto.<sup>196</sup> On 18 May 1284 the 'Red' Count died presumably in Sovana from where his body was transported to be interred in the Church of San Francesco at Orvieto.<sup>197</sup> The count's final wishes expressed in his will betray his concern, not only for his chances in the afterlife, but also for the destiny of the Aldobrandeschine County, which he attempted to safeguard with all his considerable political and financial power.<sup>198</sup> Ildebrandino XII bequeathed a total of almost 33,000 lire in monetary donations alone, in addition to substantial gifts of property. Among the religious orders which received gifts, the Franciscans benefited the most – in particular the Franciscans in Orvieto – receiving almost 2000 lire in donations between the various institutions of their order.<sup>199</sup>

To the Orvietan house, the count left all the contents of his chapel, which are itemised as: silver censer, silver chalice, silver cross, silver candlesticks, ampoules and basin, all sacerdotal vestments, cloth, altar ornaments and books.<sup>200</sup> It should be remembered that there were numerous silver mines in the Aldobrandeschine County.<sup>201</sup> Ildebrandino stipulated that 'half of his silver bars' were to be used to pay for an altar which was to be erected in the Franciscan church at Orvieto, and the other half was to be used to pay his debts.<sup>202</sup> Amongst other possessions, his armour was to be sold and the proceeds given to the Franciscans in Orvieto, his bed and bed linen was also to be donated to the same friars for use in their hospital.<sup>203</sup> The 'Red' Count also left the

<sup>196</sup> G. Ciacci, *Gli Aldobrandeschi nella storia e nella "Divina Commedia"*, 2 vols (Rome 1980), p.261.

<sup>197</sup> Gardner (1992), pp.7, 15; Ciacci (1980), p.242.

<sup>198</sup> S.M.Collavini, «*Honorabilis domus et spetiosissimus comitatus*». *Gli Aldobrandeschi da "conti" a "principi territoriali" (secoli IX-XIII)* (Pisa 1998), p.348.

<sup>199</sup> Collavini (1998), p.348.

<sup>200</sup> «*Item iudicavit et reliquit eidem loco fratrum Minorum de Urbeveteri totam cappellam suam, silicet turribulum argenteum, calicem argenteum, cruces argenteas, candelabra et ampulas argenteas et baccinos argenteos et omnia indumenta sacerdotalia et pannos et ornamenta altaris et libros.*» Ciacci (1980), p.261.

<sup>201</sup> As early as 1164, Emperor Frederick I had confirmed Count Ildebrandino VII's rights to the silver mine at Scerpena near Saturnia. There were also mines at Batignano, Cugnano, Selvena, Campiglia, Roccalbenga and *Castrum Argentarie*, which is now known as Porto Santo Stefano on the coast south of Grosseto, whose name is a clear indication of the silver deposits in its territory. Collavini (1998), pp.537-542.

<sup>202</sup> «*...In quo quidem loco voluit, ordinavit et mandavit quod unum fabricetur altare, super quo com predicta cappella pro salute anime sue sacrificium offeratur Deo omnipotenti. Item iudicavit et reliquit eidem ecclesie fratrum Minorum de Urbeveteri medietatem sue tabule argenteae, pro fabricandis calicibus ad cultum divini altaris et pro fabrica ecclesie dicti loci...Item iudicavit et reliquit aliam medietatem sue tabule argenteae pro suis debitis et male ablatis restituendis...*» Ciacci (1980), p.261.

<sup>203</sup> «*Item iudicavit et reliquit predicto loco urbevetano omnes equos suos, silicet dextrarios, pallafredos, mulos et ronzinos et omnia arma specialiter sua, vendenda et distribuenda pro fabrica ecclesie dicti loci, vel pro aliis utilitatibus et pietantiis fratrum loci eiusdem...Item iudicavit et reliquit predicto loco fratrum Minorum de Urbeveteri totum lectum suum, com omnibus pannis ad ipsum lectum pertinentibus, ad usum fratrum infirmorum loci predicti.*» Ciacci (1980), p.261.



Orvietan Franciscans a legacy of 50 lire *annue* which was to come from the taxes of Sorano to pay for masses said for his soul.<sup>204</sup> Apart from this massive legacy left to his burial church, Count Ildebrandino XII left relatively token monetary gifts to only two other convents in the city of Orvieto, both of them mendicant institutions. The Dominican order in Orvieto was left 50 lire and the Poor Clares, being a female institution, were left half as much (Figs. 23).<sup>205</sup>

The count was much more generous in his monetary bequeaths to powerful members of the curia, whose gifts were paid out in gold florins. This was possibly in an attempt – which obviously failed miserably considering Margherita's fate - to buy their future loyalty towards the Palatine County. Massive payments were made out first and foremost to Pope Martin IV, who received 1000 gold florins, but died only a year later and so as a political ally was of little use to the Aldobrandeschi heirs.<sup>206</sup> Jordano Orsini, cardinal deacon of Sancti Eustachii received 500 gold florins, however his alliance was also short lived as he passed away in 1287.<sup>207</sup> The third and final cardinal to receive a generous gift had only been recently named cardinal deacon of San Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano a month prior to the count's death.<sup>208</sup> His generous bequest of 300 gold florins to Cardinal Benedetto Caetani must have had the Count turning in his grave at the end of the century.<sup>209</sup>

Among his many gifts to members of the laity, that of 200 gold florins to Ermanno di Cittadino dei Monaldeschi (1252-1297), Capitano del Popolo at the Comune of Orvieto in 1283, stands out.<sup>210</sup> The Aldobrandeschi County was historically

<sup>204</sup> «Item iudicavit, reliquit et ordinavit quod datium quinquaginta librarum de castro Sorani detur et adsingnetur loco predicto fratrum Minorum de Urbeveteri annuatim pro missis celebrandis in die aniversarii comitis supradictis...» Ciacci (1980), p.262; Collavini (1998), p.527.

<sup>205</sup> «Item iudicavit et reliquit loco fratrum Minorum Sancti Processi de Arcidosso vigintiquinque libras usualis monete pro fabrica locivel pro pietantiis fratrum dicti loci. ... Item iudicavit et reliquit loco dominarum de Urbeveteri ordinis Sancte Clare viginti quinque libras usualis monete pro fabrica loci seu pro pietantiis dominarum et precipue infirmarum.» Ciacci (1980), p.262.

<sup>206</sup> «Ad hec autem melius, utilius, commodius et liberius exequenda, executores presentis testamenti instituit et ordinavit dominum papam Martinum, cui si dicte executioni operam dederit efficacem iudicavit et reliquit mille florenos auri.» Ciacci (1980), p.265; Eubel (1913), p.10.

<sup>207</sup> «Item dominum Iordanum Sancti Eustachii diaconum cardinalem, cui si eidem executioni operam dederit efficacem iudicavit et reliquit quingentos florenos auri.» Ciacci (1980), p.265; Eubel (1913), p.10.

<sup>208</sup> Benedetto Caetani was promoted to the cardinalate on 12 April 1281 by Pope Martin IV in Orvieto, only a month before Ildebrandino Aldebrandeschi drew up his Will. Eubel (1913), p.10.

<sup>209</sup> Here I refer to the numerous attempts made by Benedetto Caetani to wrest control of the Aldobrandeschi County from its rightful heirs into the ready hands of the Caetani family. See Chapter 1, pages 32-34 of this thesis. From the Aldobrandeschi Will: «Item dominaum Benedictum Sancti Nyccolai in carcere tulliano diaconum cardinalem, cui si eidem executioni operam dederit efficacem iudicavit et reliquit tricentos florenos auri.» Ciacci (1980), pp.265-266.

<sup>210</sup> «Item dominum Hormannum de Urbeveteri, cui si dicte executioni operam dederit efficacem iudicavit et reliquit ducentos florenos auri.» Ciacci (1980), p.266; Waley (1985), pp.85, Appendix VI. The amount of respect with which Ermanno di Cittadino dei Monaldeschi was treated by the Comune of Orvieto is reflected in a document dated 29 April 1315, eighteen years after his death, when they define the

'allied with the State of Orvieto in its aversion for Siena, in its adhesion to the Guelf cause', and it also played a fundamental role in Orvieto's military excursions.<sup>211</sup> The close relationship between Ildebrandino XII, King Charles I of Anjou and the papacy was felt strongly in Orvieto, which more than often provided the stage for the trio's political interaction. The close relationship between Orvieto's ruling Guelf family the Monaldeschi and the Aldobrandeschine County is illustrated in the year 1282 when fourteen youths from the Monaldeschi consort were knighted by the Aldobrandeschi Count in the city.<sup>212</sup> Ermanno's grandson and namesake Ermanno di Corrado «Manno» Monaldeschi, 'Signore' of Orvieto was later buried in the same church as the 'Red' Count, in one of the four chapels decorated with Monaldeschi arms located in the choir of the fourteenth century Franciscan church (Fig. 24).<sup>213</sup>

#### Viterbo and Orvieto: Tombs of the Curia

After the famous battle between the factions of Monaldeschi and Filippeschi in Orvieto in 1313, the Filippeschi buried their dead in the Church of San Domenico while the Monaldeschi chose the Church of San Francesco as their burial ground.<sup>214</sup> The choice of the Guelf Monaldeschi family to bury its dead in San Francesco clearly reflects the popularity the church was enjoying as a burial ground for the curia at the end of the thirteenth century. With three, perhaps four, cardinals buried there between 1290 and 1297, San Francesco had superseded the Dominican church as the burial ground of the high ranking clergy in Orvieto.<sup>215</sup> It is interesting to note a similar situation in the

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whereabouts of the Monastery of San Paolo as being 'next to the residence of Ermanno di Cittadino'. «*I signori Cinque, nel consiglio comunale, eleggono dominum Lippum de Albberigis et dominum Nerium Guidetti sapientes ad videndum iura que habet comune Urbisveteris et monasterium S. Pauli dominarum in domibus positus in regione Sarancis, iuxta rem Iacobucci Ricchi et iuxta viam et iuxta domum domini Citte domini Hormanni et iuxta rem comunis predicti*». Caponeri and Riccetti (1987), p.25, doc.2.2.40.

<sup>211</sup> The Aldobrandeschi had participated in the Orvietan attack on Todi in the mid-thirteenth century and an Orvietan contingent took part in the Aldobrandeschine move to recover Grosseto in 1266. Collavini (1998), pp.378-379

<sup>212</sup> «*Eodem anno, facti sunt novi milites de domo Monaldensium, XIII numero, et dominus Rubeus de Sancta Flore cinsit eis ense*». Collavini (1998), pp. 378-379, n. 38.

<sup>213</sup> 'Manno' Monaldeschi died in 1337. Unfortunately nothing remains of these chapels after the eighteenth century reconstruction of the Church of San Francesco. Piccolomini Adami (1883), p.146.

<sup>214</sup> «*...et furo sepulti lor morti (dei Filippeschi) in la chiesa de Santo Domenico, ma il capitano Bindo et Buccio Beccari con li sangue nobile de la ciptà furo sepulti in Santo Francesco*». Riccetti and Rossi Caponeri (1987), p.XXIV.

<sup>215</sup> Bernard de Languissel (d.1290), Jean Cholet (d.1292) and Simone de Beaulieu (d.1297) were all definitely buried in San Francesco, given the church's popularity at the close of the thirteenth century it is likely that Berard de Got, who died in 1297 was also interred there. San Domenico was a popular burial church during the residency of the papal courts of Urban IV, Gregory X and Martin IV. Hughes of Saint-Cher (d.1263), Annibaldo Annibaldi (d.1272), Eudes de Châteauroux (d.1273) and Guillaume de Bray (d.1282) were all buried there.

nearby town of Viterbo, which like Orvieto was a city favoured by the papal court as a residence away from Rome.

Four popes had the misfortune to die in Viterbo and all of them, together with two – local legend has it at three – cardinals, were buried in either the city cathedral or the Dominican and Franciscan churches. Popes Alexander IV and John XXI both died in Viterbo and were buried in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.<sup>216</sup> Unfortunately nothing remains of their thirteenth-century funeral monuments; a document from the cathedral chapter notes that the tomb of Alexander IV was located in the chapel «...*altare B.torum Protopgenii... et Socior.eorum*».<sup>217</sup> The tomb of Pope John XXI situated on the reverse façade of the Duomo of Viterbo was executed several centuries after he died in 1277.<sup>218</sup>

The Dominican church of Santa Maria di Gradi in Viterbo originally housed the tomb of Pope Clement IV (d.1268) and of the English Dominican cardinal Robert of Kilwardby (d.1279).<sup>219</sup> Although nothing remains of the Dominican's sepulchre, despite being dismantled numerous times the canopied tomb of Clement IV with mosaic decoration still survives. Clement IV was the first pope to choose a mendicant house as his final resting place.<sup>220</sup> This trend of using the recently built and large constructions provided by the mendicant orders' churches soon became fashionable and Pope Adrian V specifically stated that should he die outside Genoa and not be buried in that city's cathedral, he wished to be buried in the Franciscan church of the city he passed away in.<sup>221</sup> In fact he died in Viterbo on 18 August 1276 and was buried in the Franciscan church, where his Gothic funerary monument still sits in the right arm of the transept.<sup>222</sup>

Cardinal Vicedomino Vicedomini of Piacenza and Cardinal Stephan of Vák were also buried in Viterbo. Vicedomino Vicedomini, cardinal bishop of Palestrina died

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<sup>216</sup> Alexander died in Viterbo on the 25 May 1261 and John XXI died after the observation tower built for him by the city collapsed on him on 20 May 1277. Eubel (1960), pp.7, 9; G.M. Radke, *Viterbo. Profile of a Thirteenth-Century Papal Palace* (Cambridge 1996), p.23.

<sup>217</sup> Cristofori notes that this chapel was situated in front of one of the side entrances on the façade of the cathedral. F. Cristofori, *Le tombe dei papi in Viterbo e le chiese di S. Maria in Gradi di S. Francesco e di San Lorenzo. Memorie e Documenti sulla Storia Medioevale viterbese* (Siena 1887), p.279.

<sup>218</sup> Gardner (1992), p.70; Cristofori (1887), pp. 277-278.

<sup>219</sup> Clement IV's sepulchre was first moved from the Dominican church in 1270 when it was shifted to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, where it remained until 1274, when it was relocated in Santa Maria di Gradi until the church's restoration in 1571. Finally from the Chapel of San Domenico it was moved to its current site in the Church of San Francesco in 1885. Gardner (1992), p.56; Cristofori (1887), p.32.

<sup>220</sup> Gardner (1992), p.56.

<sup>221</sup> «*Item volo, quod si extra districtum Ianuense me mori contigerit, quod corpus meum ponatur in ecclesia fratrum Minorum si ibi fuerit, vel in aliqua civitate propinqua, et ibi remaneat quousque deportetur ad alteram dictarum ecclesiarum; et dictis fratribus vel ecclesie in qua ponetur lego libr. Centum usualis monete.*» Paravicini Bagliani (1980), pp.143-144.

<sup>222</sup> Gardner (1992), p.72.

on 6 September 1276.<sup>223</sup> The existing sepulchre situated near the door leading to the sacristy in the Church of San Francesco in Viterbo was executed well after his death and may well have replaced the original thirteenth-century monument.<sup>224</sup> Nothing remains in Viterbo of the tomb of the Hungarian cardinal Stephan, except local legend which claims that the cardinal of Santa Balbina was buried in the Franciscan convent of the town where he died.<sup>225</sup> In both Viterbo and Orvieto, the mendicant churches were the predominant choice of resting place for members of the Curia. Unlike Viterbo, Orvieto's cathedral was still under construction until the end of the thirteenth century and therefore houses none of the cardinals who died in the city during the papal courts presence there.

#### Tramo dei Monaldeschi, Bishop of Orvieto

Tramo (Beltramo) Monaldeschi, bishop of Orvieto from (1328-1345) was the brother of 'Manno' Monaldeschi, 'Signore' of Orvieto (1334-1337).<sup>226</sup> A member of the Dominican order, Tramo Monaldeschi had been nominated bishop of Bagnoregio on 2 December 1327 by Pope John XXII, who had then transferred him to the Orvietan see on 5 October 1328.<sup>227</sup> He is immortalised as the first name mentioned on the signature of the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal in Orvieto:

«† HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DOMINUS FRATER TRAMUS EPISCOPUS URBEVETANUS ET DOMINUS ANGELUS ARCHIPRESBITER ET DOMINUS LIGUS CAPPELLANUS DOMINI PAPE ET NICOLAUS DE ALATRO ET DOMINUS FREDUS ET DOMINUS NINUS ET DOMINUS LEONARDUS CANONICI URBEVETANI † PER MAGISTRUM UGOLINUM ET SOTIOS AUREFICIES DE SENIS FACTUM FUIT SUB ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXVIII TEMPORE BENEDICTI PAPE XII »<sup>228</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Eubel (1960), p.8.

<sup>224</sup> Cristofori (1887), p.185.

<sup>225</sup> In his will drawn up on 5 July 1270 in Viterbo, the cardinal specifically asks to be buried in his titular church, Santa Balbina of Rome. «*Sepulturam michi elig(o) apud dictam ecclesiam (Sancti)/Salvato(ri)s Sancte Balbine de Urbe*». He died four days later on 9 July 1270 in the same city. Paravicini Bagliani (1980), p.131, n. 11.

<sup>226</sup> Waley (1985), pp.165-178; Freni (2000), p.131; L. Riccetti, 'I notai e il miracolo di Bolsena', *Notai, miracoli e culto dei santi. Pubblicità e autenticazione del sacro tra XII e XV secolo*, Atti del Seminario internazionale Rome 5-7 December 2002, ed. by R. Michetti (Milan 2004), p.535.

<sup>227</sup> He was also prior at the Dominican convent in Orvieto. Eubel (1913), pp. 126, 508; Waley (1985), p.116, n.91.

<sup>228</sup> «The Lord Friar Tramo, bishop of Orvieto, caused this work to be made (together with) Lord Angelo, archpriest, and Lord Ligo, chaplain of the Lord Pope, and Nicolo of Alatro, and Lord Fredo, and Lord Nino, and Lord Leonardo, canons of Orvieto. It was made in the year of our Lord 1338, in the time of Pope Benedict XII, by Master Ugolino and his associated goldsmiths of Siena." The translation is taken from Freni (2000), p.119. The inscription runs along the base of the stories narrating the Passion and is decorated by a floral frieze interspersed with the arms of the Opera, those of the Comune of Orvieto and the Monaldeschi crest.

The reliquary is first mentioned in a document dated 7 May 1337 and the final payment recorded was dated 27 December 1339 (Fig. 129). It was carried in the procession of the Corpus Domini of 1338 however, which indicates that it was likely to have been finished by this date.<sup>229</sup> On 24 May 1337, directly after the reliquary had been commissioned, the *Riformanza* of the Comune of Orvieto registered that procession of the Corpus Domini was also required to pass by Ermanno (Manno) di Corrado dei Monaldeschi's house. The inclusion of the 'Signore' of Orvieto's house amongst the traditional religious houses, which the sacred procession was required to pass was an audacious demonstration of power, which reflected the positions of prestige, the two Monaldeschi brothers held in the city at that moment.<sup>230</sup> Unfortunately the elated moment of grandeur was terribly brief: Ermanno di Corrado died in July 1337 before the reliquary was completed, and therefore never had the chance to see it carried in his honour before his house. His brother Bishop Tramo's support of the 'Cervareschi' faction of the Monaldeschi clan, who were striving to gain the city's empty seat of power, ultimately led him to abandon Orvieto at some time before 1341. After a fleeting re-entry to the city from 1342 to 1344, Tramo left the city for good and moved to the papal court in Avignon where he died the following year (Fig. 255).<sup>231</sup>

The previous chapters of this thesis have established that Rome was an important reference point for the construction and embellishment of late medieval Orvieto and this association continues in the promotion of the saintly cults of San Pietro Parenzo and San Faustino in the city. Although the cult of the Magdalen does not feature as strongly as these two saints in the cathedral iconography, its promotion by the Angevin dynasty, which in Orvieto is echoed by the personal devotion of Bishop Tramo Monaldeschi, supports the hypothesis of a greater involvement in the city's politics and propaganda on the part of the Angevin Kingdom than earlier scholarship has suggested. This field of enquiry has yet to be fully investigated and developed. The Guelf alliance is clearly visible in the political formation of two of Orvieto's most influential citizens during this period; Bishop Francesco and Cardinal Theodoric. Both of these men were discerning patrons of art and I am convinced that further research will demonstrate

<sup>229</sup> According to the documents published by Milanesi the work of art cost an astounding total of 1374 and a half gold florins. P. Dal Poggetto, *Ugolino di Vieri: gli smalti di Orvieto*, Forma e colore. I grandi cicli dell'arte (Milan 1963), p.1; G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte senese* (Siena 1854-1856), I, p.210.

<sup>230</sup> As bishop of Orvieto, Tramo was the highest local religious authority and Ermanno di Corrado (Manno), who held life term positions as the *Gonfaloniere del Popolo* and the *Gonfaloniere della Giustizia* in Orvieto, represented the maximum secular authority on the local political scene. Freni (2000), p.131.

<sup>231</sup> Waley (1985), pp. 165-178; Freni (2000), pp.132-133.

Theodoric to have been as involved in the city's cathedral project as the bishop of Orvieto and Florence was. The elevated number of cardinals' tombs in Orvieto is further testimony to the impact that the papal court had on the overall aspect of the city. Their location in the churches of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, confirms the immense popularity of these orders at the end of the thirteenth century and is comparable to the papacy's choice of burial sites in Viterbo, another popular city of residence for the papal court outside of Rome during the thirteenth century.

## Conclusion

Orvieto is the only city within the Papal States to house one of central Italy's great Gothic cathedrals. Its geographic position distinguished it from the Tuscan Communes of Pisa, Siena and Florence, which experienced the influence of the Papal See in a much less direct manner at the end of the thirteenth century. Many Popes lived in Orvieto in the brief period between 1262 and 1297. They would arrive in the city accompanied by the entire papal court. Their *famiglia*; and those of the cardinals, their notaries, their scholars, their scribes, their cooks, right down to the lowliest stable hand - and those of the cardinals - would fill the city plateau and there they would all take up residence for months at a time. The papacy was present in Orvieto, its presence was impressive and as it generally did not perceive itself to be a guest, its presence was usually downright overwhelming. This was the immediate milieu in which the Orvieto Cathedral was initially conceived.

The city cathedral was a joint venture which almost definitely stemmed from papal initiative, with the eventual collaboration of the cathedral chapter, persuaded by Orvieto's bishop. Bishop Francesco of Orvieto (1280-1295) was the driving force behind the project, and his name is found regularly in sources documenting the negotiations which took place with the cathedral canons for the site of the new building. The reluctance of the cathedral chapter to adhere to the project, where they stood to lose two churches for the price of one - albeit of larger dimensions - only gave way when Nicola di Trevi, Nicholas IV's papal chamberlain entered negotiations in 1290. As mentioned above, Orvieto lay in the Patrimony of Saint Peter, and it is the original architectural floor plan of its new cathedral which betrays papal involvement from the planning stages of the project.

The cathedral architecture was inspired by the design of early Christian Roman basilicas, with a non-projecting transept, semicircular apse, timber roof and *ballatoio*. Its similarity to the papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore extends to Pope Nicholas IV's decorative commissions of an unfinished *Genesis* cycle for the Roman basilica's new transept and is further reinforced by the above mentioned 1290 document signed by the Nicholas IV's chamberlain regarding Orvieto's new cathedral, which states that it was to be built «... *ad instar Sancte Marie Maioris de Urbe*». The unusual architectural detail of the semicircular side chapels built on both sides of the nave at Orvieto can be identified in buildings dating back to the Roman Empire. The early examples of Santa Balbina and the Consistorium at the Imperial Palace in Constantinople, were both

probably built to serve secular functions originally, as for that matter was the later ninth century Roman example of the Consistorium in the Lateran Palace. There seems to have been a conscious effort on the part of those responsible for the design of the Orvieto cathedral to identify it with ancient Rome, and its architectural reference to the two Consistoria at the heart of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires could well be interpreted as a visual expression of the papacy's hopes of Orvieto becoming a place of diplomacy and communication between the two worlds. The union of the Eastern and Western Church and the survival of the Holy Land were primary concerns of most of the popes who resided in Orvieto.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano received particular attention from Pope Nicholas IV, who commissioned spectacular decorative works in addition to his architectural renovations of them. An integral part of Nicholas IV's identity was that he was the first Franciscan to occupy the throne of Saint Peter and it has been suggested that his addition of transepts and tribune to both basilicas may have been in alignment with the floor plans of the two great Roman mendicant churches of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Maria sopra Minerva.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the cathedral plan for Orvieto was brutally interrupted in circa 1308, when its semicircular apse was replaced with a tribune and projecting transepts were installed, is curious as it echoes Nicholas IV's previous renovations of these Roman basilicas and may well indicate greater mendicant involvement in the cathedral project in Orvieto. Given the Franciscan pope's participation in the Orvieto cathedral project, one would have expected the tribune and transepts to have been part of the building's original plan.

The two remaining preparatory drawings for the Orvieto cathedral façade are the object of iconographic examination. Although Bonelli warned scholars that investigations of these drawings should not overshadow studies of the actual façade which decorates the western front of today's cathedral, the two sketches are of particular pertinence to my argument which concentrates on the influences papal residency had on medieval artistic monuments in Orvieto. Analysis of the decorative elements included in the earliest drawing also revealed that the façade programme was almost certainly

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<sup>1</sup> O. Capitani, 'Niccolò IV ed il suo tempo: situazione socio-politico-culturale in Italia ed in Europa nella seconda metà del XIII secolo', *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno (14-17 Decemer 1989), ed. by E. Menestò, (Spoleto 1991), p.16; F. Cardini, 'Girolamo d'Ascoli: dall'esperienza francescana alla politica' and 'Niccolò IV e la Crociata', *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno (14-17 Decemer 1989), ed. by E. Menestò (Spoleto 1991), pp.97, 138.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gardner, 'Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36 (1973), p.3.



prepared in the initial planning stages of the cathedral and despite some changes, a certain amount of continuity can be observed through to its actual realisation. The *Maestà* in the lunette over the main portal was already apparent in the first preliminary drawing, as was the complex narrative divided into separate scenes by vine scrolls, later sculpted in base relief over the four pilasters at the base of the façade. The curved throne on which the Virgin is seated in the first preparatory drawing was an irrefutably eastern element. The eastern root of the *Maestà* supports the evidence derived from a comparative exam of the Tree of Jesse iconography on the façade, which concluded that its iconography was derived from Eastern sources. Essentially this reverses the existing hypothesis formed by Taylor that Orvieto was in fact the birthplace of the extended Tree of Jesse iconography apparent on the city façade, and that its eastern versions were derived from a base model originally located in the Dominican church at Orvieto.<sup>3</sup> It would seem that Orvieto looked to the East for iconographic inspiration and not vice versa.

Iconographic motifs appearing on the great western front of the city's cathedral however were not exclusively eastern in origin. The unusual employment of extensive surface areas covered with relief sculpture on the lower four pilasters of the cathedral's great western face made comparison with French portal relief sculpture inevitable. Certain narrative scenes at Orvieto, in particular representations of the *Maestà* and the Last Judgement, stories from the Genesis and from the New Testament, can be found on the portal decoration of the cathedrals of Lyons, Paris, Chartres, Auxerre, Rouen and Reims. However, the sophisticated didactic method which determined the location of this narrative on the French Gothic cathedral portals differs drastically from the straightforward narrative proceeding from left to right, from the base upwards, of the same stories on the pilasters of the cathedral at Orvieto. This narrative layout, prioritising the viewer's clear comprehension of its didactic message, can be compared to that of manuscript illumination and seems to have stronger precedents in the Romanesque relief façades of Southern France. In Orvieto – and this may have been determined by the role the mendicant orders played in the building project – serious uncomplicated communication of the stories of the Genesis, the Origins of Christ, the Life of Christ and the Last Judgement to the masses was prioritised. Orvieto was also reputed to be a catharist stronghold and the Dominican and Franciscan orders involvement in thirteenth century inquisitional efforts in the city may well have

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<sup>3</sup> M.D. Taylor, 'A Historiated Tree of Jesse', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34-35 (1980-1981), pp.152-154, 174-176.

encouraged the decision to use the western front of the city cathedral as a narrative billboard for the Roman Catholic Church.

In Italy Romanesque precedents for reliefs of parallel stories from the Old Testament together with New Testament episodes can now be found at the cathedral façades of Verona and Modena. The Church of San Zeno in Verona also has comparable Romanesque relief panels flanking its main entrance. Unfortunately their effectiveness as comparative precedents for the relief sculpture on the façade at Orvieto is minimised by the uncertainty of their original location, which may well not have been on the façades of the respective churches but decorating interior surfaces such as the choir screens. The unusual combination of mosaic techniques, bronze sculptures and marble relief work on the façade at Orvieto finds only rare precedents at the church of San Marco in Venice and to a lesser extent the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa. Much of Orvieto's extensive narrative can also be found in the Venetian church's vast iconographic programme, although the location often differs and it is not certain that the sixteenth century Tree of Jesse in the Chapel of San Isidoro is actually a copy of an earlier medieval model. At Genoa, the main entrance on the cathedral façade is flanked by a Tree of Jesse carved in relief on one side and scenes from the Life of the Virgin on the other. Both of these coastal cities had important ports in the middle ages, making them cosmopolitan centres of trade and commerce. In Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire, their merchants resided in quarters of the city known by the names of the States they came from: the Genoese quarter was located in Pera on the eastern side of the Bosphorus from the mid-thirteenth century, whereas the Venetian colony was located along the south shore of the Golden Horn on the western side of the city.<sup>4</sup> It makes sense that the embellishment of these cities' cathedrals should be influenced by a byzantinizing style and iconography.

Traces of polychromy were found on the three dimensional representation of the *Maestà* surrounded by angels located on the lintel above the main portal of the Orvieto Cathedral. The earlier bronze architrave sculpted and signed by Rubeus on the Porta del Vescovado at the south side of the cathedral was also polychromatic. This display of colour on the cathedral façade, complemented by its lavish use of mosaic as a narrative medium, suggests that originally the narrative sequence at the base of the cathedral may also have been intended to be coloured. Technical observations made by White,

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<sup>4</sup> A. Talbot, 'Revival and Decline: Voices from the Byzantine Capital', *Byzantium Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ex. Cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23 March – 4 July 2004, ed. by H.C. Evans (New York 2004), p.19.

Rockwell and Martelletti have shown that the sculptured cycle on the highest areas of the pilasters remained unfinished, which may be why they remained monochromatic, as in order to avoid paint spillage, work on wall painting proceeded from the highest areas downwards.

After having explored the external appearance of the city cathedral and the varying architectural, iconographic and technical precedents which may have influenced it, the third chapter of the thesis focuses on the internal decoration of the building. Unlike the rapid realisation of today's architectural monuments, building Europe's medieval cathedrals was a slow procedure and indeed many of them remain unfinished. The façade alone of Orvieto cathedral, based on late thirteenth century plans, was completed only at the end of the sixteenth century. Despite the infinite number of changes which inevitably effected the initial building project, certain threads of continuity can be traced through to its realisation. An examination of the function of certain areas and decor within the church helps explain the organic relationship between the external and internal decoration of the cathedral at Orvieto.

The church is dedicated to the Virgin and her fundamental role as intercessor between God and Man is clearly stated in the vertical development of its façade iconography, where she appears crowned and seated on the *sedes sapientiae* above the building's main entrance. She symbolically sits at the divisory line between the stories from the Old Testament and New Testament. Inside the building Ugolino di Prete Ilario was commissioned on 30 May 1370 to paint the apse with stories from the Life of the Virgin, appropriately elaborating on the information about the cathedral's *titulus* already furnished in the façade iconography. Wall painting cycles cover the internal walls of the transepts too. Stories attesting to the veracity of the Eucharist adorn the walls of the Chapel of the Corporal in the north transept and were signed by Ugolino di Prete Ilario in 1364. This was where the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal, a masterpiece of precious tricuspid microarchitecture reminiscent of the cathedral façade, was housed. Ugolino di Vieri's reliquary held Orvieto's eucharistic relic, which was a reference to Christ's sacrifice made for the salvation of mankind. The chapel, the Reliquary and the relic inside it are aptly located behind the façade mosaic of the Baptist and the Baptistry Font on the north side of the nave. Saint John the Baptist and the baptismal rite were also intrinsically linked to the promise of Christian salvation. In the south transept illustrations, begun by Fra Angelico in 1447 and finished by Signorelli at the beginning

of the sixteenth century, provide a comprehensive commentary to the Last Judgement scenes narrated on the southernmost pilaster on the cathedral façade.

Repetition of iconographic motifs, which were introduced on the cathedral façade and then further elaborated in later decorative cycles inside the cathedral building, was a deliberately used didactic technique in Orvieto and the appearance of mendicant representatives in both external and internal iconographic programmes suggest that this educational bent may have been - at least in part - determined by these orders' role in the cathedral workshop. As a city of residence of the papal court, many men of great learning were present in Orvieto. All scholars who graduated from medieval European universities had studied the works of Aristotle and the instructive programme, particularly in the wall painting cycle of the chapel of the Holy Corporal, of giving examples illustrating the truth in the face of a question, seems to reflect the learning technique taught at these schools. Two of the middle ages most recognised theologians, both graduates and masters at the University of Paris, lived in Orvieto for substantial periods of time. I argue that the decorative programmes on the façade pilasters and the Reliquary of the Corporal, were both influenced by the writings of the Franciscan Bonaventure di Fidanza and the Dominican Thomas of Aquino.

Analysis of the fourteenth century drawings divided between the Museo dell'Opera in Orvieto, the British Museum and the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin confirms that like its Tuscan counterparts, the Orvieto Cathedral also intended to have a large sculpted pulpit. This item of church furniture had both civic and religious functions, and is emblematic of the integral role performed by the city cathedral within city and State affairs. The Cathedral was undoubtedly religious architecture with a religious function, but the fundamental role of the Church, which provided medieval society with the very history of Mankind, meant that the building and everything within and directly without it were intrinsically connected. The didactic outreach performed by the cathedral façade and its interior fresco cycles received further commentary from the religious plays performed outside the cathedral by the town's confraternities.

Confraternities were religious activity groups for lay people, which encouraged by mendicant ideals also acted as charitable foundations. In Orvieto the first confraternity dates back to the end of the twelfth century and was associated with the cathedral chapter. Besides charitable deeds, the members of early Umbrian confraternities would often meet to sing *laude* together. Fourteenth century membership to the Franciscan confraternity in Orvieto confirms that it could count amongst its

members a number of artists and artisans working on the cathedral. Inside the cathedral, one of the capitals in the nave bears the verse of a *laude*, probably etched into the marble by a confraternity member who was a sculptor by trade. Orvietan confraternities were by no means restricted to the jurisdiction of the cathedral. The mendicant orders encouraged such lay organisations and many of the parish churches in the city were also regular meeting points for their activities. These small organisations of lay men and women were also often publicly recognised as a group and included in religious festivities such as the procession of the feast of Santa Maria Assunta from the Church of Sant'Andrea to the Cathedral or that of the Corpus Domini, which visited all of the city's most important centrally located churches. On these occasions certain confraternities would often perform the religious play associated with the Holy feast, both the Orvietan feasts of the Assumption and that of the Corpus Domini were the object of fourteenth century drama.

The procession of the Corpus Domini established in Orvieto in 1337 is emblematic of the interaction between the city cathedral and the microcosms of religious and political power surrounding it. The identification of these parishes, many of which were managed by religious orders, is essential to understanding the balance of power in the city during the middle ages. In fact it appears that a substantial amount of political power and wealth was concentrated in the hands of the cathedral chapter, whose influence in State politics waned considerably during the second half of the thirteenth century when the papal court was regularly in residence in Orvieto. While construction of the new cathedral was underway, the canons were deprived of their baptistery and their cemetery. The Dominican church and that of the Franciscan order - conveniently located at the city's highest point and right next to the new cathedral - seem to have taken up the slack and were certainly the preferred burial site for the wealthier members of society who died in Orvieto. Outside the city walls, the Premonstratensian abbey probably influenced the most power over local politics. This changed in the second half of the thirteenth century when the abbey's urban Church of Santa Lucia was acquired by the Augustinian order and despite valiant efforts to prevent it, thanks to papal intervention the Servite order was able to build a house and oratory on land in the Premonstratensian parish of San Martino.

Orvieto's artistic patrimony must have been substantial in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unfortunately only a fraction of the wall paintings and sculpture which once decorated its churches has survived. Given the singular use of bronze

casting in the decoration of the city's cathedral façade and south portal, an investigation into other objects of church and civic décor cast in bronze seemed appropriate. In fact the same artist responsible for the bronze architrave above the Porta del Vescovado on the cathedral, also signed the basin of Orvieto's grandest civic monument: the fountain in the Communal Piazza in front of the Church of Sant'Andrea. Rubeus was probably in Orvieto in the 1270's when he signed both the architrave and the large basin on the fountain. A bronze cast of a bishop and pope once part of the collection at the Museo dell'Opera in Orvieto and published by Toesca, also possibly dates to the same period. The figures resemble those on the architrave of the cathedral and they may initially have been part of more substantial bronze decoration on the south portal of the cathedral. Another important name appears on the basin of the fountain, that of Pandolfo Savelli who was Podestà of Orvieto at the time it was cast.

This leads us to the second set of bronze objects, cast by highly skilled itinerant artisans, present in Orvieto. Pandolfo Savelli had a penchant for bronze bell patronage and three bells in Roman churches all bear his name. Bells served both civic and religious functions in the middle ages, they were expensive and were often cast by itinerant members of family workshops which specialised in their production. In fact all three Roman bells commissioned by Pandolfo Savelli were cast by Guidotto Pisano, a member of an important thirteenth century bronze casting family from Pisa. The same artisan who signed and dated the bell at the Premonstratensian Abbey of SS. Severo e Martirio in 1277 just outside Orvieto. Pandolfo Savelli was not the only important patron of bells in Orvieto, in 1273 Edward I of England is recorded as having given a bronze bell to the Church of San Francesco in Orvieto, where the funeral service of Henry of Almain was held. These bronze casters and bell founders must have passed on their skills to local Orvietan artisans, as a number of late thirteenth century bells and fourteenth century bells in Orvieto, Rieti and Perugia are signed by Orvietan bell founders.

Medieval Orvieto's exclusive circles of patronage can still be seen when observing the paintings conserved from the city's churches. Painted panels and wall paintings produced by some of the most prominent artists of the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century once decorated their interiors. Art produced by late thirteenth century workshops painting in a byzantinizing style, such as those responsible for the early decoration in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi or the mosaics in the Baptistery in Florence, is especially prominent. The Spoletan masters, or a painter

very close to them in style, Simeone and Machilone executed two panel paintings of a Crucifix and a Madonna and Child Enthroned, which once decorated altars in the Poor Clares church of San Lodovico and that of Santa Maria in Carmelo. The panels predate the construction of the churches they were once held in, which suggests that the paintings were originally located in the older establishments of these orders outside the city walls.<sup>5</sup> The wall painting cycle on the nave columns in the Church of San Giovenale was produced by artists of a similar stylistic formation to Simeone and Machilone. Its inclusion of the two foremost mendicant saints Dominic and Francesco, alongside the figure of the Magdalen and the church's *titulus* the bishop Giovenale is curious and indicates the elevated status these two mendicant orders enjoyed in Orvieto.

The large panel of the Madonna and Child enthroned attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo in the church of the Servite mendicant order probably dates to slightly after the group of paintings influenced by the Spoletan school and was likely to have been produced around the same time as the Crucifixion frescoes at the Abbey of SS. Severo e Martirio. These later thirteenth century paintings were still inspired by the byzantinizing style, however the artists responsible for them have more in common with those in the workshops in Florence and Bologna than Spoleto. This northern provenance of the artists responsible for the later byzantinizing style of painting present in Orvieto, is perhaps an early premonition of the northern shift in focus for artistic inspiration which resulted in the importation of the Gothic style to the city. Appreciation of the new Gothic style did not by any means diminish the refined aesthetic taste of the patrons of Orvieto's artistic commissions or effect their tradition of employing artists of the highest calibre. Arnolfo di Cambio was able to combine this novel style with the Orvietan propensity for polychromy and the city's nostalgic bond with ancient Rome, both of which are eloquently expressed in the artwork of the city cathedral, in his sepulchre monument for Cardinal de Bray (d. 1282) in San Domenico. In the early fourteenth century Siena's great Gothic master Simone Martini produced polyptychs for three of Orvieto's mendicant churches, and a panel illustrating the Madonna of Mercy produced by the same workshop painted by his brother-in-law Lippo Memmi, is housed

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<sup>5</sup> The Poor Clares first established themselves at the suburban church of San Lorenzo *in Vineis* from 1232. From there they later established the urban convents of Santa Chiara (first documented in 1299) and San Lodovico (first documented in 1327). The exact date the Carmelite order arrived in Orvieto is unknown, however they originally resided in *burgo Civitatis* until 1327, when their urban convent was fit to move into. Simeone and Machilone were known to be working at the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century.

in the Chapel of the Corporal in the city Cathedral. It is interesting to note that these examples of Gothic art were all destined for mendicant churches or the new cathedral.

An examination of three of Orvieto's most popular patron saints helps to understand the various political powers behind the promotion of their cults in the city. While the local saint of Roman birth Pietro Parenzo was the object of popular adoration, San Faustino was a martyr dating back to the early Roman persecution of the Christians and the cult of the Magdalen was promoted by the Angevin Kings of Naples. The adoption of San Faustino as a patron saint is in keeping with the cathedral project's consistent references to Rome, Rome was after all the city of Saint Peter and it was right that Orvieto, situated in the Patrimony of Saint Peter, should look to ancient Rome as a point of reference. The cult of the Magdalen, which the Dominican Trasmondo Monaldeschi adhered to, probably arrived in Orvieto via the Dominican order. Both Charles I and his son Charles II of Anjou had funded Dominican houses which were to be dedicated to the saint within the Kingdom of Naples. It is curious that the church and convent in her name in Orvieto was not however Dominican, but a female Augustinian house. The long arm of Angevin politics in Orvieto did not stop at the deaths of the aforementioned kings. The precocious appearance of the Church and Convent of San Lodovico in Orvieto as early as 1327, only ten years after Saint Louis' canonisation was almost definitely due to his younger brother's promotion of the cult. King Robert of Anjou was elected *Podestà* in Orvieto the year after his brother had been canonised.

Orvieto then did not cease to attract commissions of works of art from the wealthy and powerful immediately after the papacy left town. Certainly the tombs of the highest ranking members of the clergy, which were erected in the city's mendicant churches during periods of papal residency, were no longer built as cardinals began to die elsewhere. We should bear in mind that one of the city's most extravagant artistic commissions, indeed one of the most lavish commissions of the Italian middle ages, the Reliquary of the Holy Corporal, was made in 1337 thirty years after the last medieval pope, Boniface VIII, had left town. However, one would have expected the extraordinary beauty of the cathedral façade's extensive three dimensional narrative to have inspired artistic repetition, but maybe such an expanse of precious didactic statement – and the architectural monuments it could appropriately be displayed upon – lost their fabulously wealthy and interested patrons when the papal court abandoned Italy for Avignon.



With Betrand de Goth's election to the papal throne in Perugia in 1305 and the subsequent transfer of the papal court to Avignon from 1309 to 1377, Orvieto did not immediately feel the cold wind of abandonment. The cathedral was rising and local patronage was strong. Cardinal Teodorico had died in 1306 and it was his brother and nephews who were forging their ecclesiastic careers that represented potential patrons for art in Orvieto. Teodorico had managed to secure prebends for them in Orvieto itself, at Chiusi, in Venice and as far afield as the diocese of Agen and Chartres in France and the diocese of Cracovia in Poland.<sup>6</sup> None of these positions in the Church however were comparable to Teodorico's role as Papal Chamberlain, in political and economic power. Orvieto also lacked the magnetic pull of the great pilgrimage sites in Rome, although the relic of Bolsena would make it a powerful local focus for pilgrims. Its great days were drawing to a close, and without the attraction of its cosmopolitan inhabitants of the curia, the city lost its role as a primary player on the international scene of European politics.

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 2.

## Appendix 1

### Inscription on the Lower Cornice of the Second Basin of the Fontana Maggiore, Perugia

#### *Inscription in Latin.*

«† ASPICE QUI TRANSIS JOCUNDUM VIVERE  
FONTES  
SI BENE PROSPICIAS MIRA VIDERE POTES.  
ERCVLANE PIE LAURENTI STATE ROGANTES  
CONSERVET LATICES QUI SUPER ASTRA  
SEDET  
ET LACUS ET JURA CLUSINAQUE SINT TIBI  
CURA.

† URBS PERUSINA PATER GAUDENTI SIT TIBI  
FRATER  
BENVEGNATE BONUS SAPIENTIS AD OMNIA  
PRONUS.  
HIC OPERIS STRUCTOR FUIT ISTE PER OMNIA  
DUCTOR.  
HIC EST LAUDANDUS BENEDICTUS NOMINE  
BLANDUS  
ORDINE DOTATUS DEDIT HOC ET FINE  
BEATUS.

† NOMINA SCULPTORUM FONTIS SUNT ISTA  
BONORUM.  
(ARTE CELEB)RATUS NICOLAUS AD (OMNIA  
GR)ATUS  
EST FLOS SCULPTORUM GRATISSIMUS ISQUE  
PROBORUM.  
EST GENITOR PRIMUS GENITUS CARISSIMUS  
IMUS  
CUI SI NON DAMPNES NOMEN DIC ESSE  
IOHANNES.  
NATU PISANI SINT MULTO TEMPORE SANI.

† INGENIO CLARUM DUCTOREM SCIMUS  
AQUARUM  
QUI BONENSIGNA VULGATUR MENTE  
BENIGNA.  
HIC OPUS EXEGIT CONDUCTILE QUODQUE  
PEREGIT.  
VENETIIS NATUS PERUSINIS HIC PERIMATUS.

† FONTES COMPLENTUR SUPER ANNIS MILLE  
DUCENTIS  
(S)EPTUAGINTA (BIS QUAT)T(UOR) ATQUE  
DABIS.  
TERNUS PAPA FUIT NICOLAUS TEMPORE  
DICTO  
RODULFUS MAGNUS INDUPERATOR ERAT.»

#### *Translation in English.*

† Look, you who pass, at the playful life of this fountain.  
If you observe well you can see admirable things.  
Oh Saint Herculane, or Laurence, do not cease to  
implore  
that these waters are protected by He who sits above the  
heavens,  
and the lake and jurisdiction over Chiusi stay close to  
your heart.

† City of Perugia, make light of heart and take as your  
father  
good fra Bevignate who faces every known challenge.  
He is the builder of this work, he directed everything,  
we must praise him with the name of blessed.  
Gifted with order he has proudly given us this work.

† Here are the names of the excellent sculptors of this  
fountain:  
Nicola, famous for his art, appreciated for every work.  
He is the flower of all sculptors and most pleasing  
amongst the gifted.  
Father is the first, dearest son the other,  
who if you are not mistaken you will call him Giovanni.  
Pisan by birth; long may they live.

† We know that with ingenious talent the waters were  
channelled  
by he who well wishers call Boninsegna.  
He accomplished this work and made all aqueducts,  
born in Venice, beloved by Perugians.

† This fountain was finished in the year twelve thousand  
augmented by seventy and eight.  
In the time when Nicholas III was Pope,  
(and) Rudolf the Great was Emperor.

Appendix 2Cardinal Theodoric's Legacy: the Ecclesiastic Prebends of his Family and Fellow Orvietan Citizens<sup>1</sup>*Angelo Petri of Orvieto* (nephew of Teodorico)

1302 *Plebanus* of Santa Maria of Fighino, diocese of Chiusi

1302 Rector of the Parish Church of St-Agnan de Gambais, diocese of Chartres

*Gotio of Orvieto*

1297 Archdeacon of Pincerais, diocese of Chartres

1297 Canon of Sant'Andrea, Orvieto, diocese of Orvieto

1297 Canon of Cracovia, diocese of Cracovia

*Gualterio Zacharie of Orvieto* (nephew of Teodorico)

1297 Canon of Chartres, diocese of Chartres

1297 Archdeacon of Pissiac, diocese of Chartres

1297 Church of St-Pierre de Castelnau, diocese of Agen

1297 Church of Sant'Andrea, Orvieto, diocese of Orvieto

*Leonardo Mancini*

1296 Archdeacon of Bari, diocese of Bari

1302 Bishop of Manfredonia, diocese of Siponto

*Luca Zacharie of Orvieto* (nephew of Teodorico)

1300 Canon of the Church of St-Géry d'Haeltert, Archdiocese of Reims

*Zampo of Orvieto* (brother of Teodorico)

1299 Church of Santa Maria of Fighino, diocese of Chiusi

1299 Church of Cambes, diocese of Chartres

1302 Church of San Barlolomeo, Venice, diocese of Castello

1302 Canon of Chiusi, diocese of Chiusi

1302 Bishop of Sovana

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<sup>1</sup> P. Montaubin, 'Les collations pontificales dans le Chapitre Cathédral de Chartres au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Monde médiéval et société chartraine*, Actes du colloque international organisé par la Ville de Chartres à l'occasion du 8<sup>e</sup> centenaire de la Cathédrale du Chartres, 8-10 septembre 1994, (Paris 1997), p.295, n.51 ; T. Boespflug, *La curie au temps de Boniface VIII*, (Rome 2005).

### Appendix 3

#### The Canons at Orvieto Cathedral in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century

canonicus Adonulfus	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Adinulfus	decime 1297
canonicus Bartho	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
canonicus Bartho, Bartholomeus	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Barthone	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260
canonicus Barto, prete	(Fumi, <i>Codice Diplomatico</i> , CCCCXXVIII), 7 June 1268
canonicus Barthone	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Bartho	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
canonicus Barthoni Frederici, procuratore	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.227 v), 6 Nov.1284
d. Bartoni, vicario Capituli	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285
d. Bartoni Iohannes canonicus	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Bendifende, archidiacono	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260
canonicus Bendifende, archidiacono	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
canonicus Bernardinus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.110 v), 17 Feb.1254
canonicus Bernardino	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260
canonicus Bernardino	(Bolla di papa Urbano IV, Viterbo), 13 July 1262
canonicus Bernardinus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
canonicus Bernardino	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 3 March 1285
canonicus Capitaneo	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.133 r), 14 Feb.1260
canonicus Capitaneo	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept. 1260
canonicus Capitaneus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
canonicus Comes	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Forte	decime 1275-1280
prete Forte, cherico di S.Costanzo	(Fumi, <i>Codice Diplomatico</i> , DXXVI), 14 Oct.1282
canonicus Fortis, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284
canonicus Forte, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
canonicus Fortis, presbiter	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285
canonicus Fortis, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Fredericus, presbiter	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Federicus, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284
canonicus Frederico, presbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
canonicus Federicus, presbiter	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285
canonicus Guilielmo, archipresbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.110 v), 17 Feb.1254

canonicus Guidone, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260	
canonicus Guido, presbiter		?
canonicus Guido	(Fumi, <i>Codice Diplomatico</i> , CCCCXXVIII), 7 June 1268	
canonicus Hugolinus		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Ugulinus, archipresbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284	
canonicus Hugolino, archipresbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.228 r), 25 July 1284	
canonicus Hugolino, archipresbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284	decime 1297
canonicus Hugo Manopielli, figlio di Ildebrandus Manopielli		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Hugo Manopielli		decime 1297
canonicus Iacobus, camerario	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.133 r), 14 Feb.1260	
canonicus Iacobus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260	
canonicus Iacobus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266	
canonicus Iacobus		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Ildrebandino, magister, priori Sancti Iovenalis		
	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260	
canonicus Ilderandinus, magister, priori sancti Iovenatis		
	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266	
canonicus Ildibrandinus (de Iovi or Berardini? Or both?)		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Ildribandinus Berardini	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284	
canonicus Ildebrandino Bernardi	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284	
canonicus Ildebrandino	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285	
canonicus Ildribandinus de Iovi	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284	
canonicus Ildebrandino de Iovis	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284	
canonicus Ildibrandinus(de Iovi or Berardini?)	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285	
canonicus Ildribandinus(de Iovi or Berardini?) archidiaconis	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290	
canonicus Ildibrandinus(de Iovi or Berardini?)		decime 1297
canonicus Ioannes		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Iohannes Galici	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284	
canonicus Ioannes	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285	
canonicus Ioannes		decime 1297
canonicus Lukese		decime 1275-1280
canonicus Molganus	camerarius et vicario episcopale	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Monaldo	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260	
canonicus Monaldo de Monaldis	(tax collector with Teodorico Rationes Decimarum)	

canonicus Monaldus de Monaldensibus	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284
canonicus Monaldo de Monaldensibus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
canonicus Monaldo Bernardini di Iovi	(Arch. del Capitolo, perg.), 3 March 1285
Monaldus	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Nerius	decime 1297
canonicus Nicolaus de Guercino, magister	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284
canonicus Nicolao, infrascripto(notaio?)	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
(Natalini, p.215)	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 3 March 1285
Nicolaus	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Nicola	decime 1297
canonicus Barto Oderisio	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.110 v), 17 Feb.1254
canonicus Oderisii, archipresbiteri	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.126 v), 13 May 1259
canonicus Odderiscio, archipresbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.133 r), 14 Feb.1260
canonicus Oderisio, archipresbitero	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260
canonicus Hoderisius, archipresbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
Arciprete Odorico, arciprete	(Fumi, <i>Codice Diplomatico</i> , CCCCXLII), 26 July 1268
Arciprete Oderisi, arciprete	(Fumi, <i>Codice Diplomatico</i> , CCCCXLVII), 13 August 1268
Oddo	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Oddo	decime 1297
canonicus Pandolfo	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Pandulfus	(Arch.Capitolare, cod.I, c.24), 22 June 1284
canonicus Pandulfo	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.242 r), 5 Oct.1284
canonicus Pandulfus	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 3 March 1285
canonicus Pandulfus, archipresbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Pandolfo	decime 1297
Petrus, presbiter	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Petrus	decime 1297
Rainerius	(Arch.Capitolare, perg.), 6 Sept.1290
canonicus Stefano	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S. Costanzo</i> , c.151 r), 26 Sept.1260
canonicus Stefanus	(Arch.Capitolare, <i>Codice di S.Costanzo</i> , f.178bis r), 30 Jan.1266
canonicus Stefanus	decime 1275-1280
canonicus Ugo Grece, figlio di Ildebrandus Ugonis Grece	decime 1275-1280

NB. Natalini and Leoni cite the same document in Sept. 1260 regarding 'prebende' from the *Codice di S.Costanzo*, c.151 r. Natalini dates the document 27 Sept. 1260, whereas Leoni dates the same page 26 Sept. 1260.

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Figure 1. City of Orvieto, view from Rocca Ripesena west of the city.



Figure 2. Church of San Francesco and Orvieto Cathedral, view from southeast.



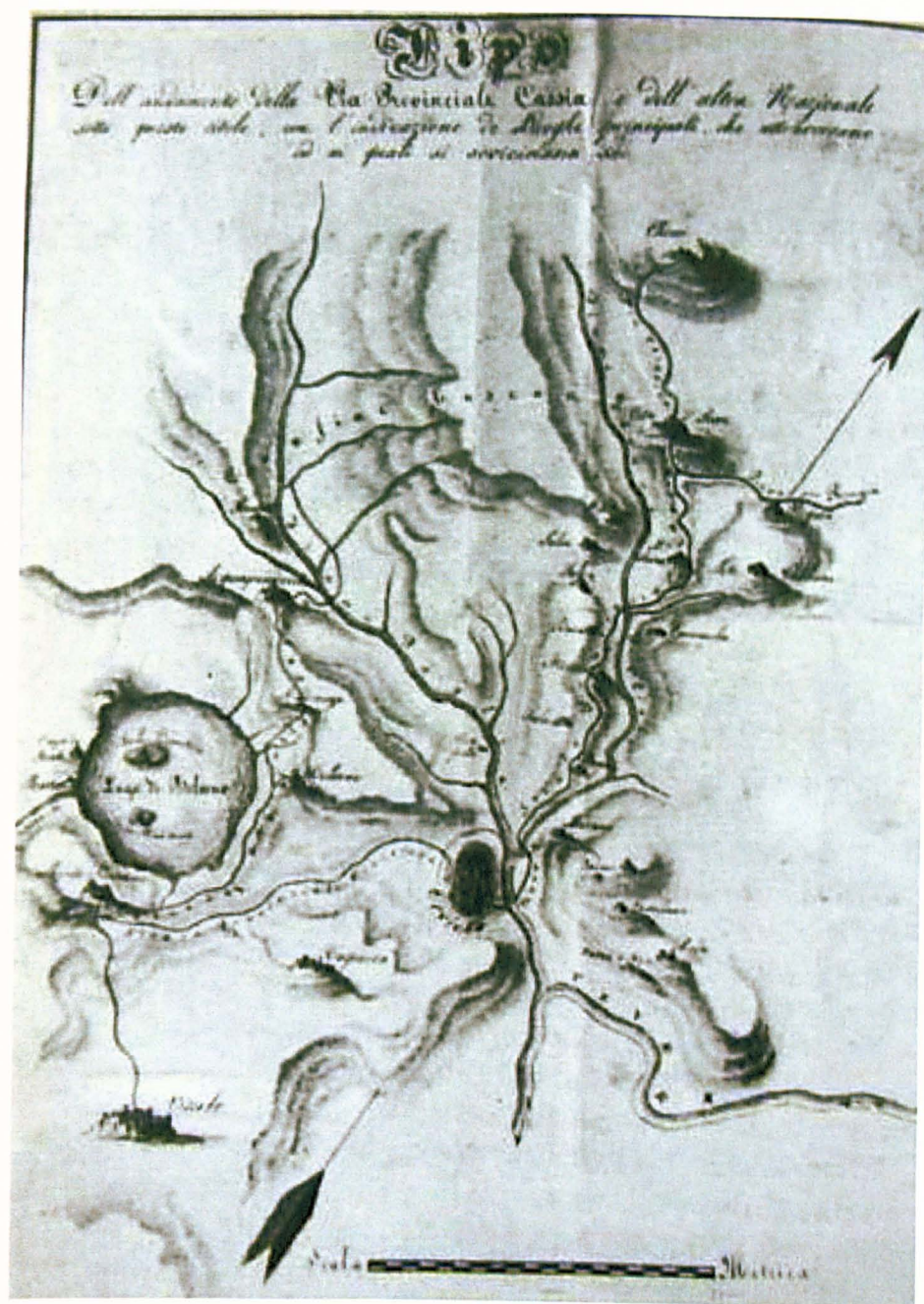


Figure 3. Map of Orvieto, the Tiber and the Paglia, drawing, 1832, Archivio di Stato, Rome. (Satolli 1974).



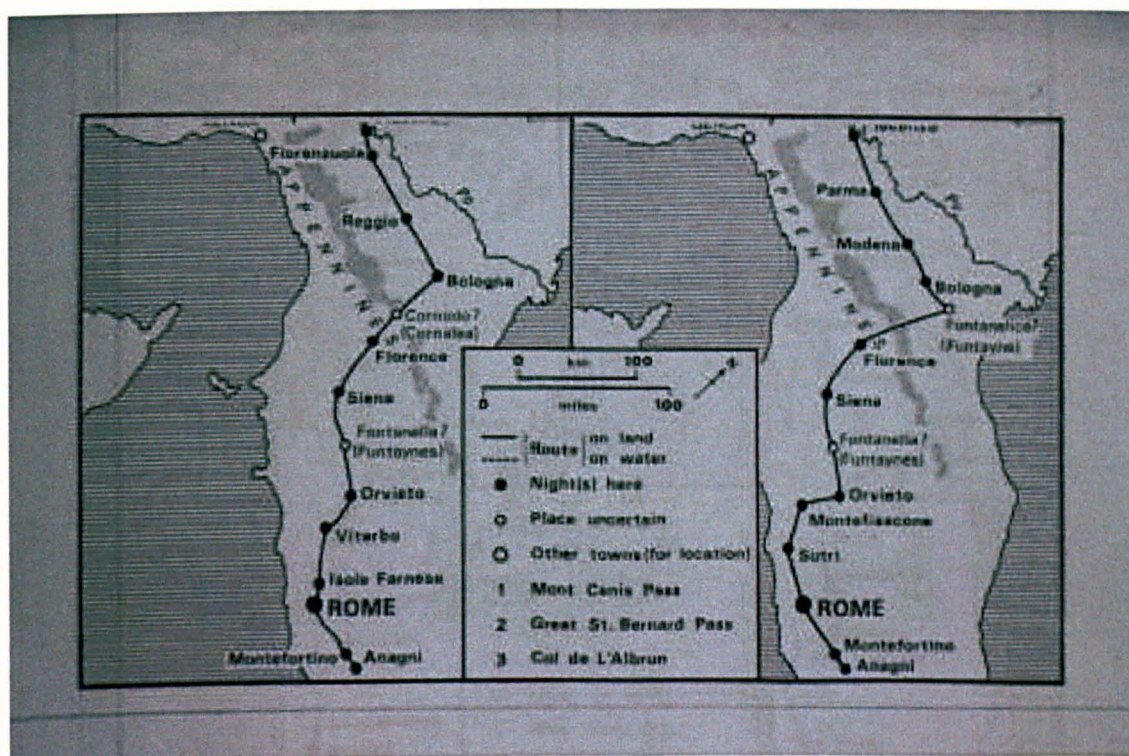


Figure 5. Route travelled by Thomas Vale and Thomas Delisle through central Italy to Anagni, 1301. (Stones 1982).





Figure 6. Orvieto Cathedral, view of the western façade.





Figure 7. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, view of the current eighteenth century portico and loggia incorporating medieval façade facing east.





Figure 8. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, view of current seventeenth century façade incorporating apse facing west.

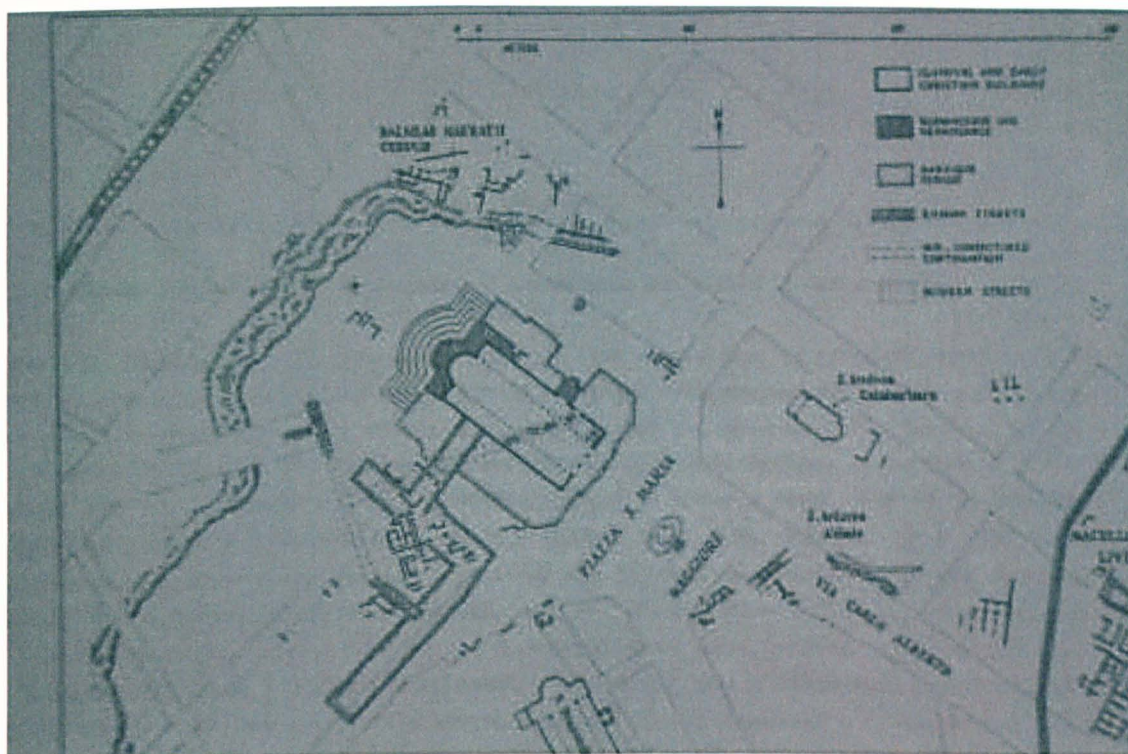


Figure 9. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, plan showing medieval construction. (Krautheimer 1971).



Figure 10. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, aerial view of basilica. (Google Earth).





Figure 11. Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, view of Loggia della Benedizione, north transept and Lateran Palace.



Figure 12. Lafréry, Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, (Rome 1575), engraving. (Carli 1995).



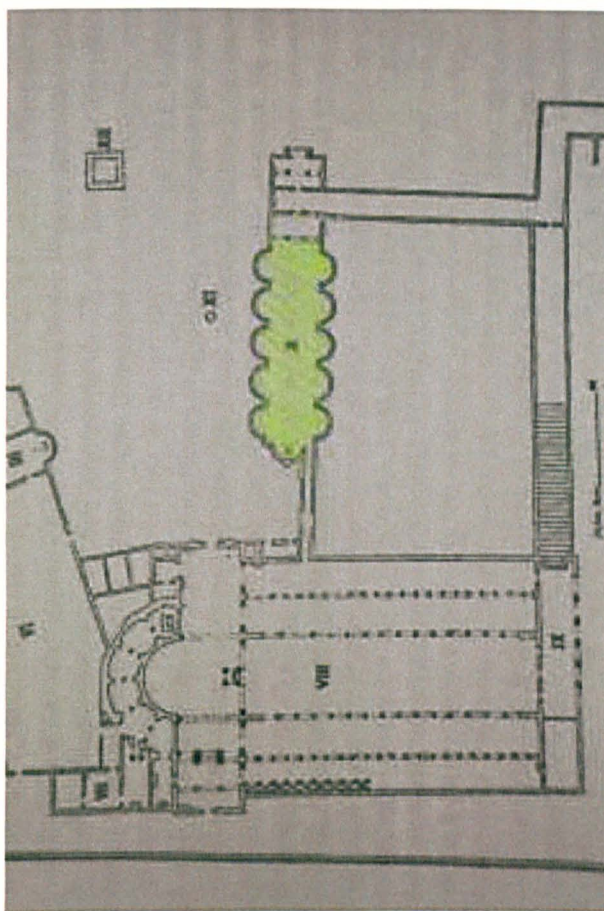


Figure 13. Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, floor plan showing sixteenth century basilica (VIII) and concistorium (X). (Carli 1995).

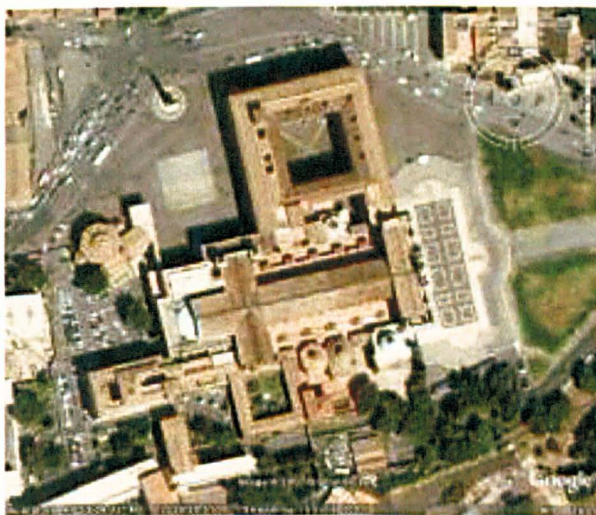


Figure 14. Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome aerial view of basilica. (Google Earth).

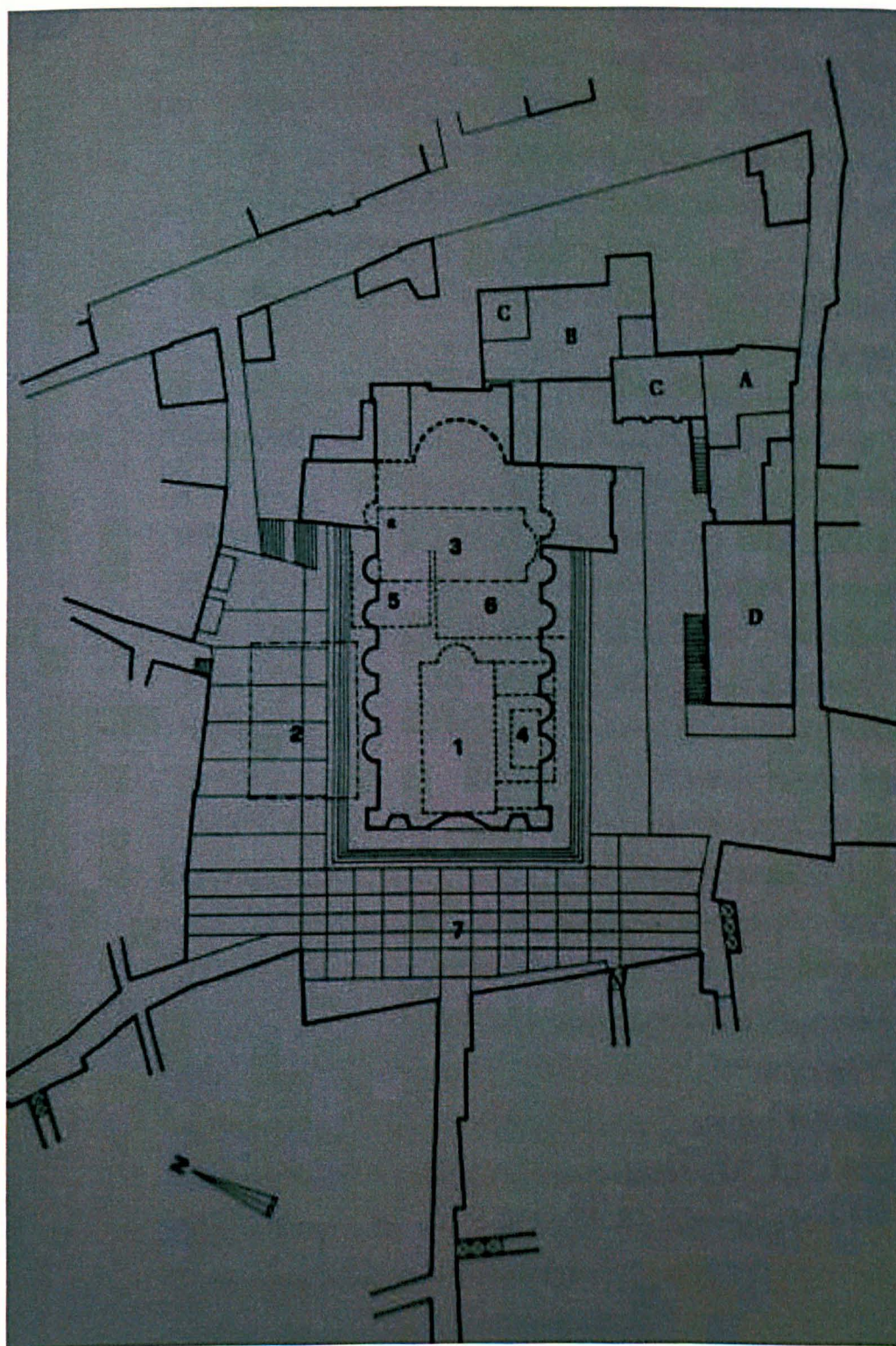


Figure 15. Orvieto Cathedral and Papal Palaces, floor plan showing original design of cathedral. (Bonelli 2003).





Figure 16. Basilica of Santa Balbina, Rome, view of façade.



Figure 17. Basilica of Santa Balbina, Rome, view of interior towards the apse showing side chapels and timber roof.





Figure 18. Bishop's Throne, Basilica of Santa Balbina, Rome, apse.





Figure 19. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray*, (d. 1282), sculpted marble with polichromatic marble and mosaic decoration, Church of San Domenico, Orvieto.





Figure 20. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Bray*, (d. 1282), detail, sculpted marble with polichromatic marble and mosaic decoration, Church of San Domenico, Orvieto.





Figure 21. Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Viterbo, view of façade.



Figure 22. San Domenico, Orvieto, transept of the original medieval church.



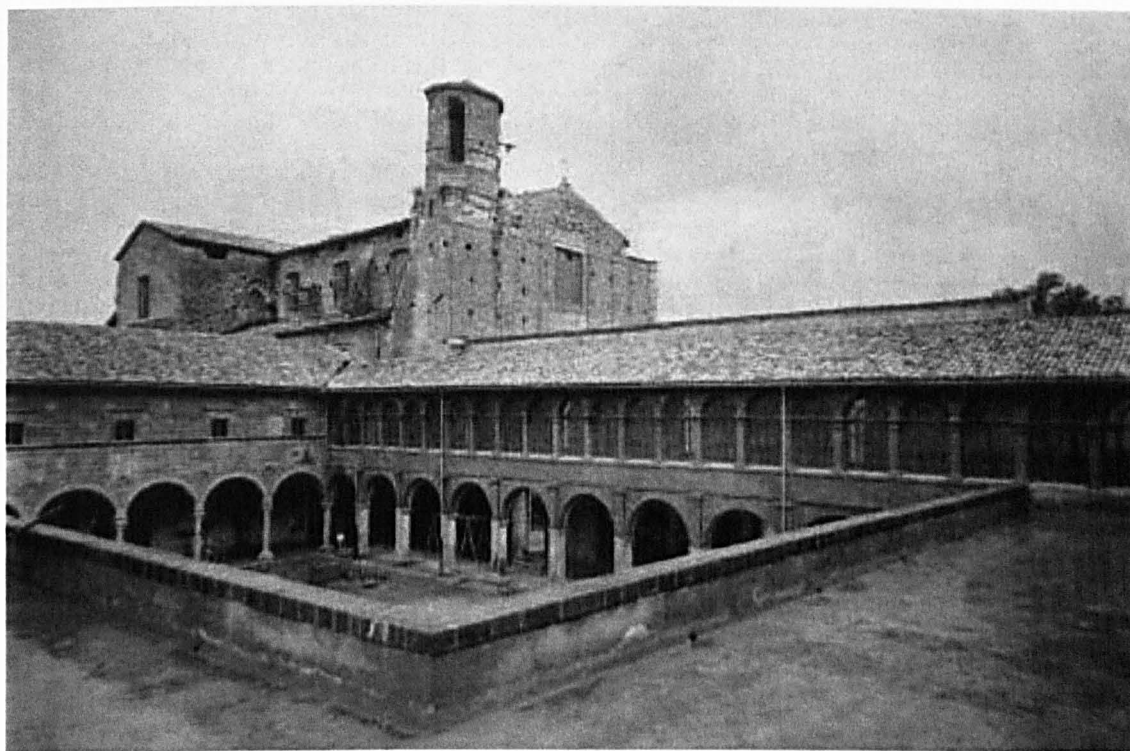


Figure 23. Church and Convent of San Domenico before demolition in 1934, Orvieto.



Figure 24. Church of San Francesco, Orvieto, western façade.





Figure 25. Church of Sant'Andrea, Orvieto, western façade and bell tower.

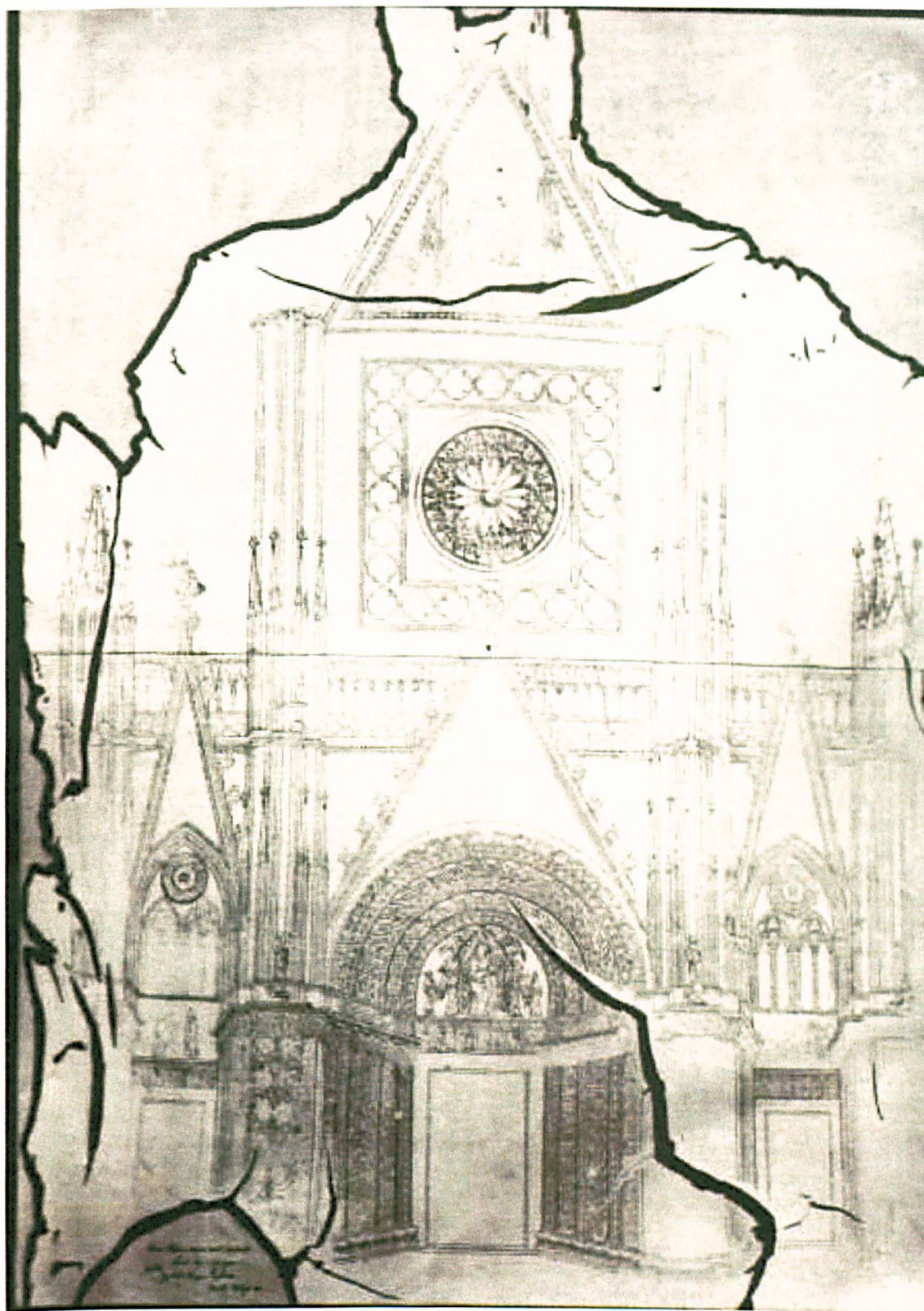


Figure 26. Copy of 1<sup>st</sup> preparatory drawing of cathedral façade, Orvieto, before 1295, 19th century copy, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q2, 101 x 74 cm. (Fumi 1891).



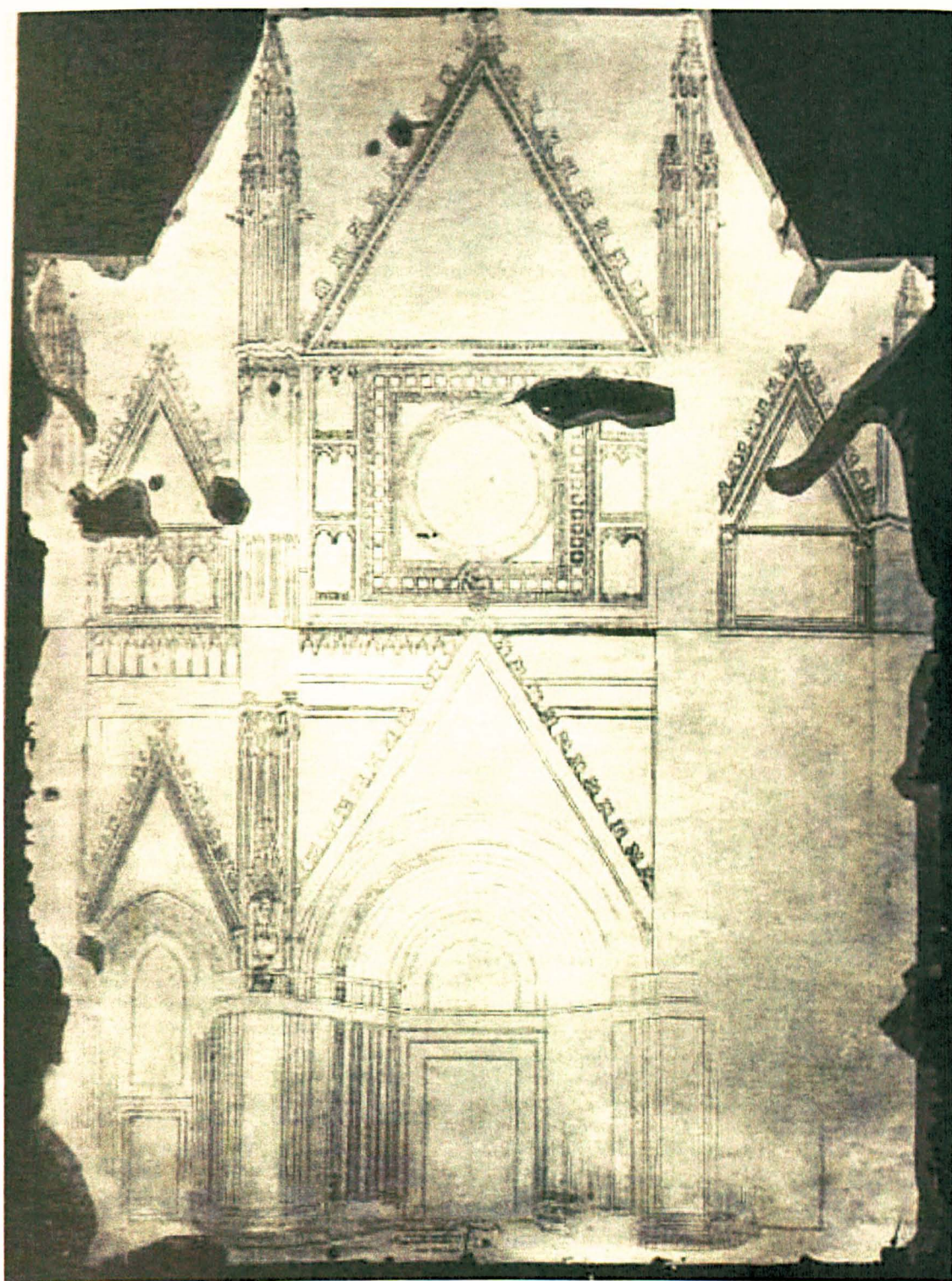


Figure 27. Copy of 2<sup>nd</sup> preparatory drawing of cathedral façade, Orvieto, after 1295, 19th century copy, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q3, 120 x 87 cm. (Fumi 1891).



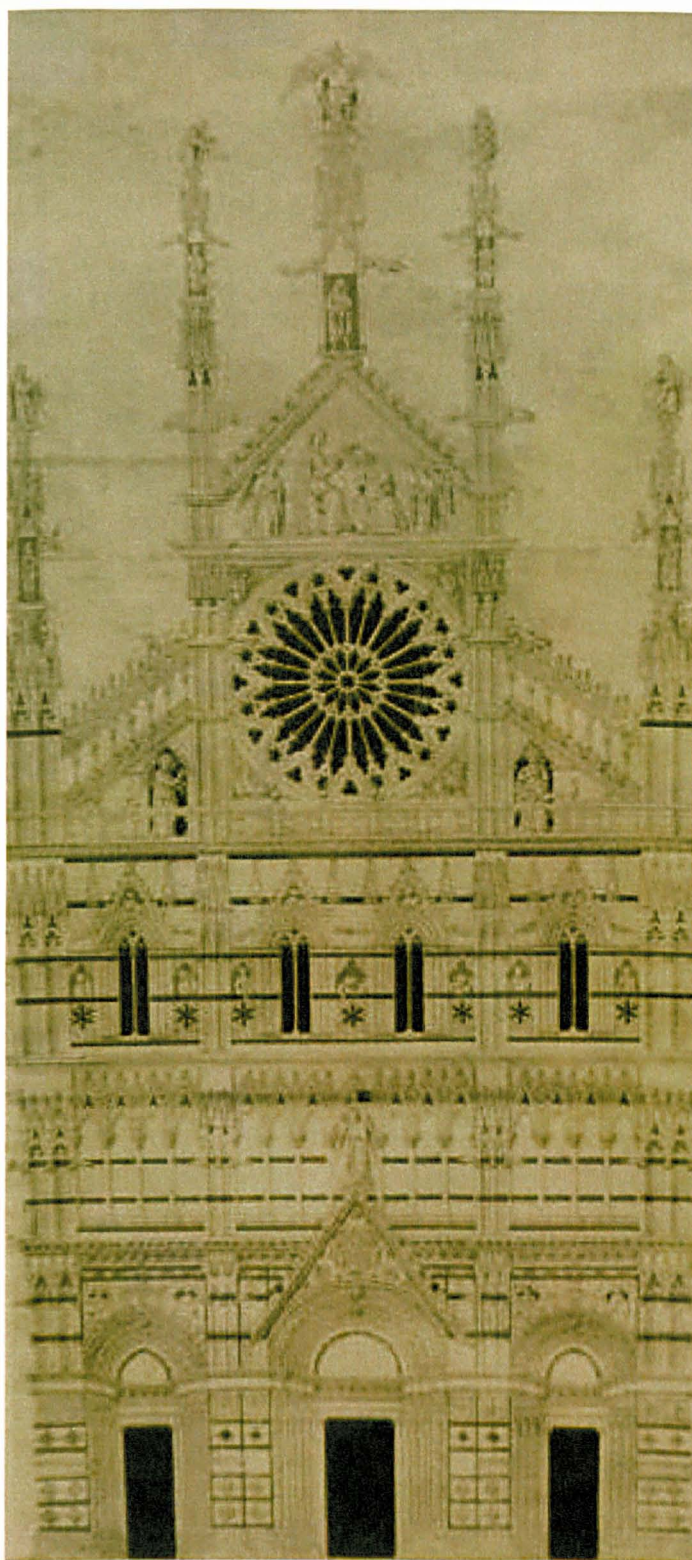


Figure 28. Minucci, copy of elevation drawing for façade of Baptistry and choir, Siena cathedral, (original c.1317), 1820, watercolour, Archivio dell'Opera della Metropolitana, Siena. (Norman 1995).





Figure 29. Basilica of San Miniato al Monte



Figure 30. Basilica of San Frediano, Lucca, view of façade.





Figure 31. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, view of *Portal of Saint-Etienne*, south transept façade.



Figure 32. Jacopo Torriti, *Dormitio Virginis*, c.1295, mosaic, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, apse.



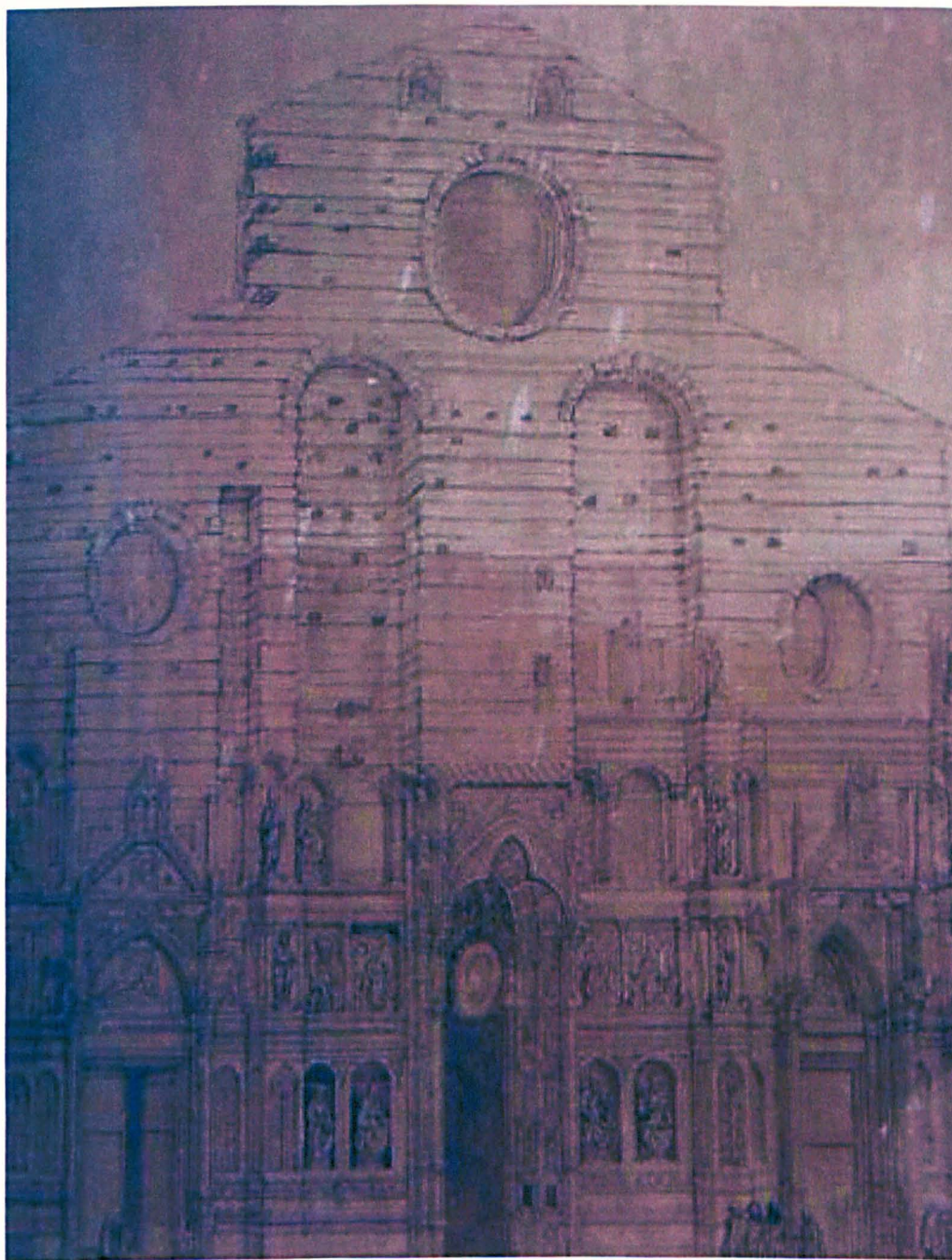


Figure 33. Alessandro Nani, *Façade of Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence before its demolition in 1587*, (copy from Bernardino Poccetti), 17th century, pencil, ink and watercolour drawing on paper with canvas backing, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence, 72.3 x 58.2 cm. (Neri Lusanna 2005).



Figure 34. E. Neri Lusanna, S. Moretti, reconstruction of the lunette over the central portal on the façade of Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. (Neri Lusanna 2005).





Figure 35. *Portal of the Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1210-1220, relief sculpture, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, west façade.

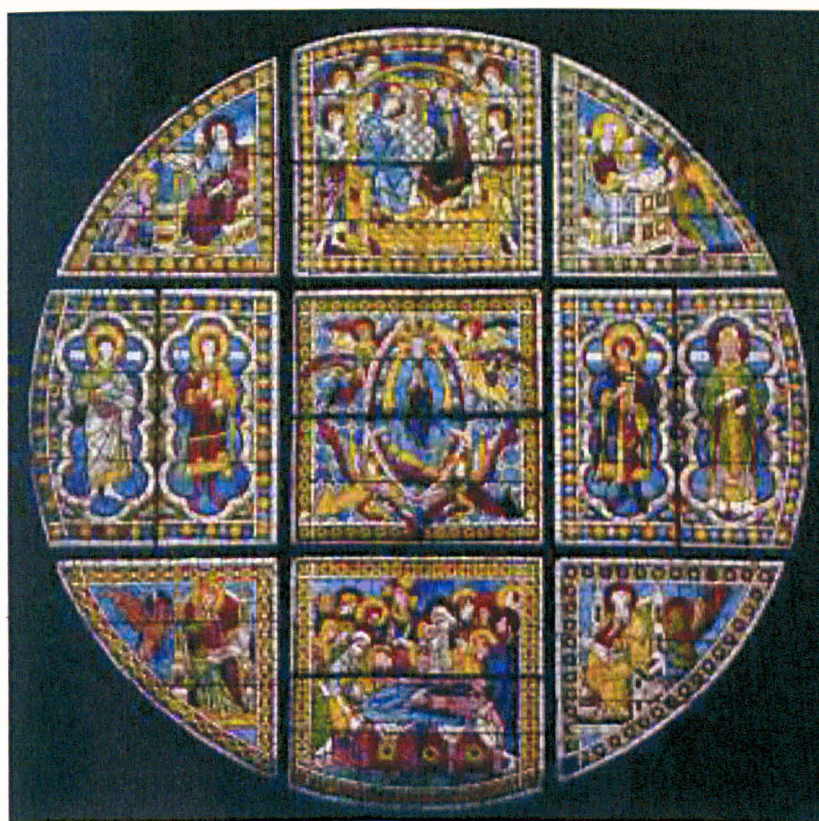


Figure 36. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Stories from the Life of the Virgin, Evangelists and Sienese Patron Saints*, c.1289, stained glass, Siena Cathedral, over the apse, 560 cm in diameter.





Figure 37. Jacopo Torriti, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1295, mosaic, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, apse.



Figure 38. Lorenzo Maitani, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, c.1325-1330, bronze and marble sculpture, façade of Orvieto Cathedral. (Middeldorf Kosegarten 1996).



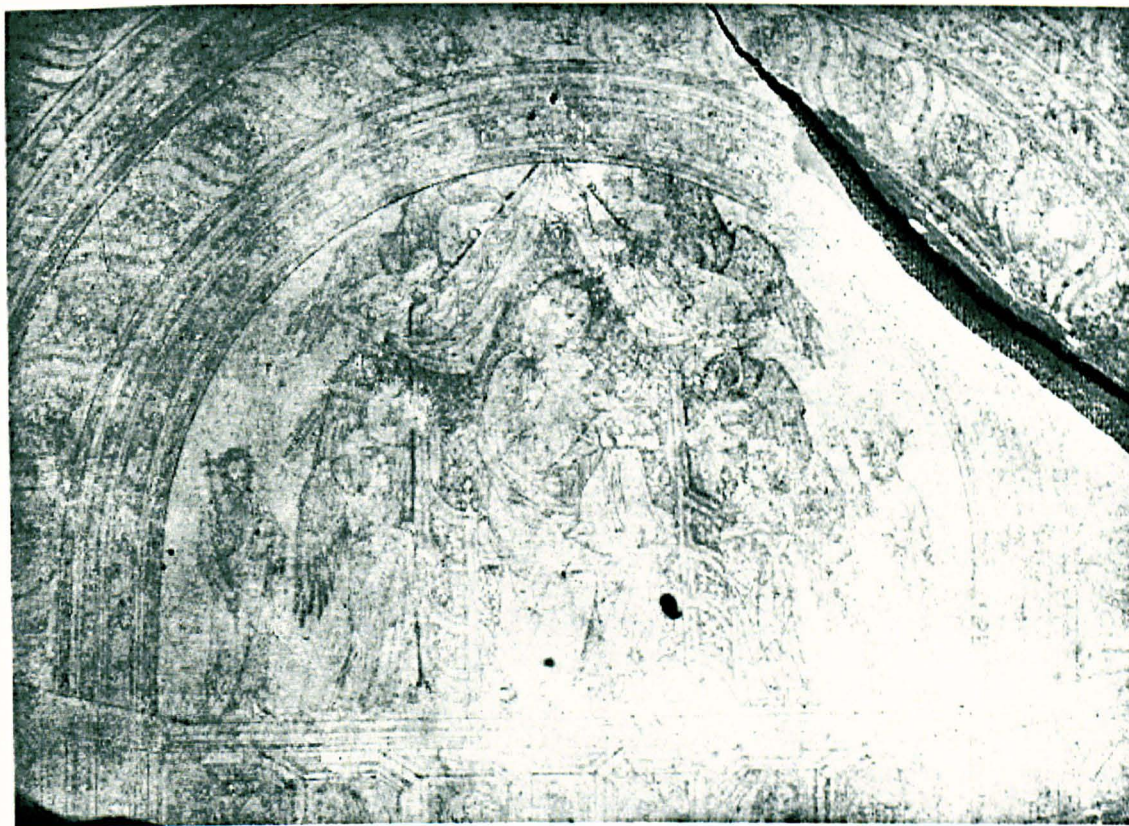


Figure 39. Lorenzo Maitani, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, detail of 1<sup>st</sup> preparatory drawing of cathedral façade, Orvieto, before 1295, 19<sup>th</sup> century copy, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q2. (Middeldorf Kosegarten 1996).





Figure 40. Lorenzo Maitani, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, c.1325-1330, bronze and marble sculpture.



Figure 41. *Portal of Saint Anne*, c.1165, relief sculpture, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, western façade.





Figure 42. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, western façade.



Figure 43. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Amiens, western façade.





Figure 44. Orvieto Cathedral, detail of lower level of western façade.



Figure 45. Niccolò, *Sedes Sapientiae*, c.1139, polychromatic relief sculpture, Cathedral of Santa Maria Matricolare, Verona, tympanum over entrance on western façade.





Figure 46. Engraving of fresco of *Maria Regina* in apse, Saint Nicholas Chapel, Old Lateran Palace, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, 1638, Cost. Caetani. (Bornstein 1988).



Figure 47. *Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne*, (*Mellon Madonna*), c.1275-1300, tempera, gold and gesso on wood, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 81.5 x 49 cm.



Figure 48. *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, (*Kahn Madonna*), mid-thirteenth century, tempera and gold on wood, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 131.1 x 76.8 cm.





Figure 49. *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, late 13th century, pear wood with traces of polychromy, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 70 cm high.





Figure 50. Siena Cathedral, view of western façade.



Figure 51. *Last Judgement Portal*, c.1230, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, western façade, relief sculpture.



Figure 52. *Stories from the Genesis*, Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, Auxerre, west façade, north portal, detail of right socle, c.1270, relief sculpture. ([www.courtauldimages.com](http://www.courtauldimages.com)).



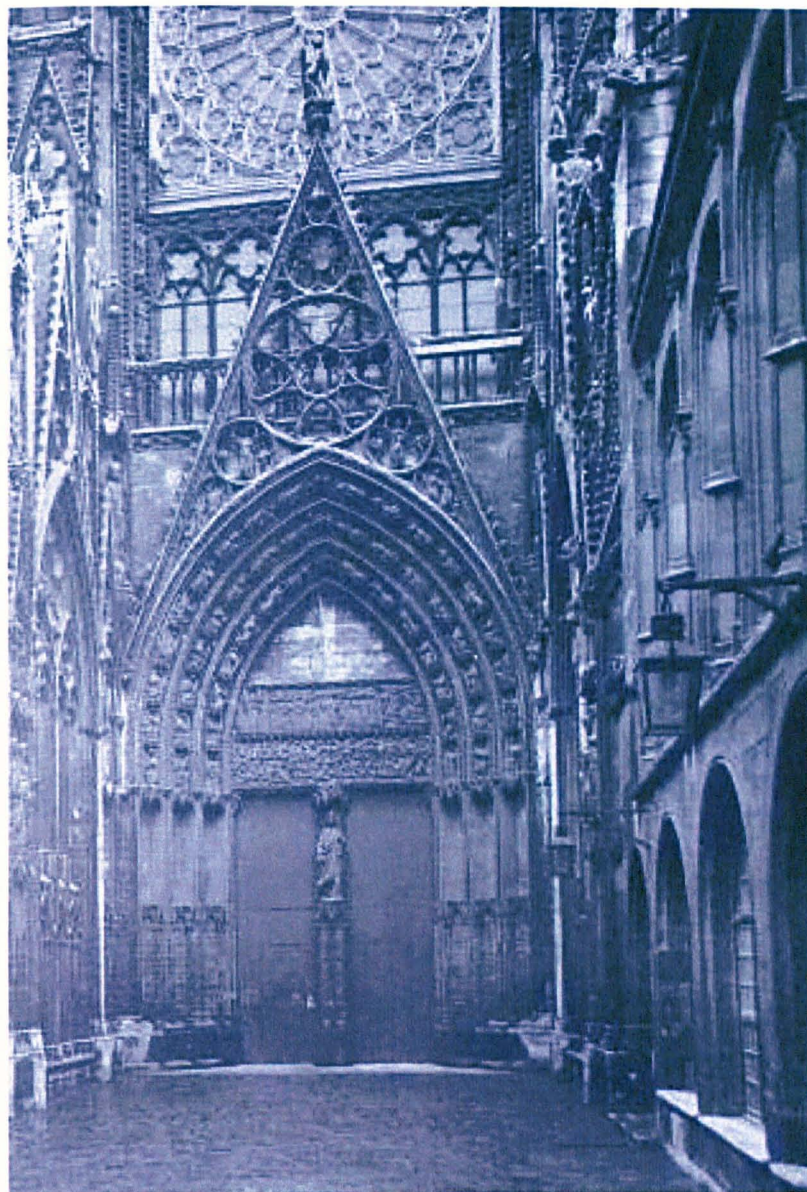


Figure 53. *Portail des Libraires*, (1280-1290), Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Rouen, north transept. ([www.courtauldimages.com](http://www.courtauldimages.com)).



Figure 54. Cathedral of Saint-Jean, Lyon, western façade.





Figure 55. *Creation of Eve*, detail from *Stories from the Genesis*, 1308-1322, relief sculpture, Cathedral of Saint-Jean, Lyon, western façade, central portal, detail of south socle.



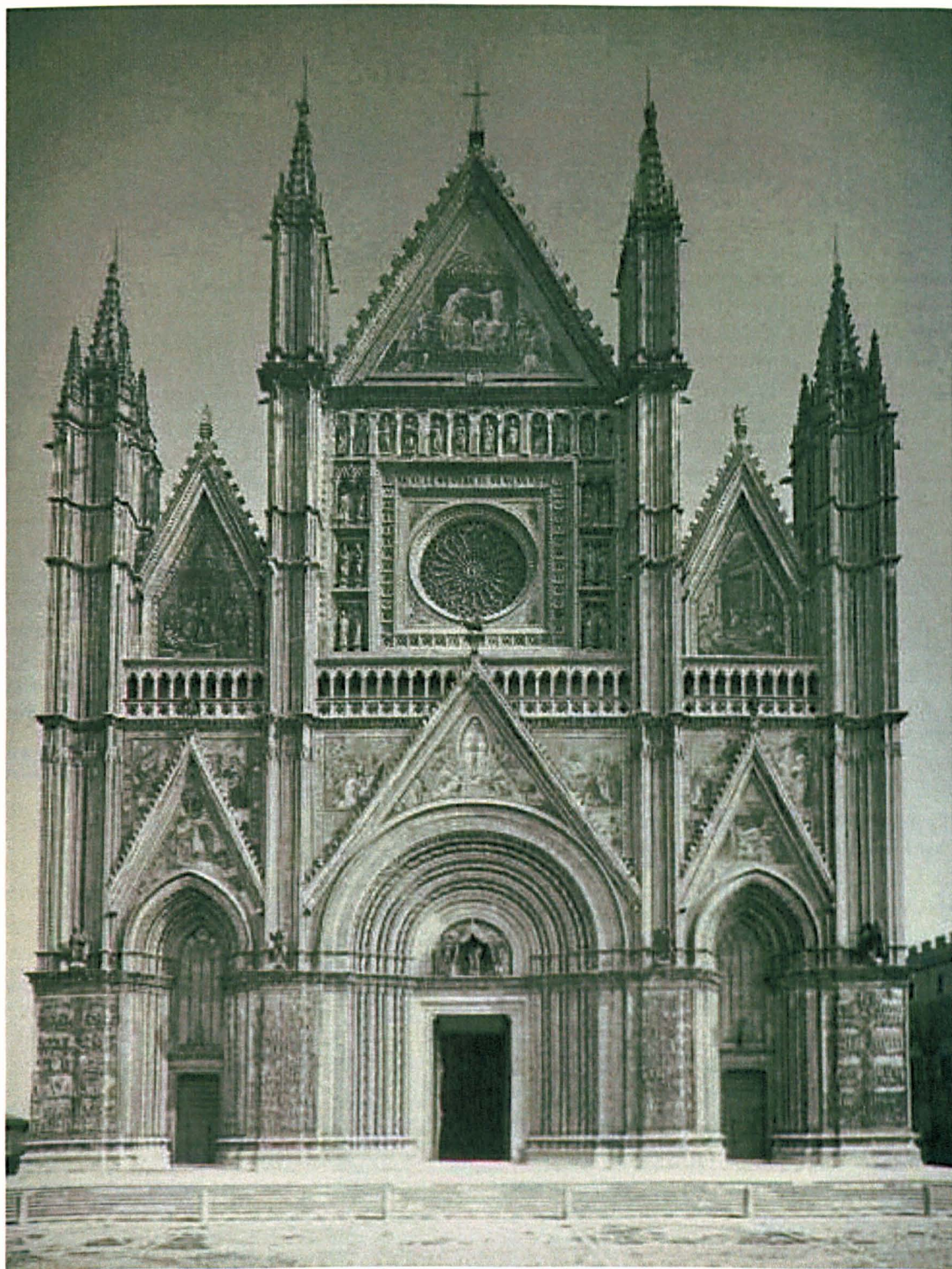


Figure 56. Orvieto Cathedral, view of the western façade with tympanum sculpture in place over central portal in the 1960's. (Middeldorf Kosegarten 1996).





Figure 57. *Stories of the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.



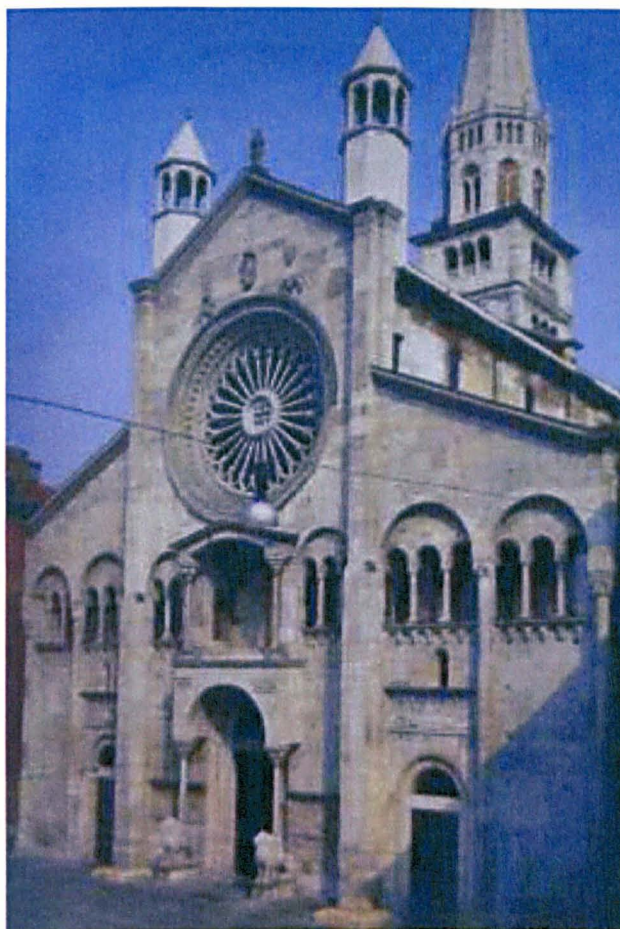


Figure 58. Modena Cathedral, view of western façade with reliefs by Wiligelmo flanking the main portal and above the side portals.

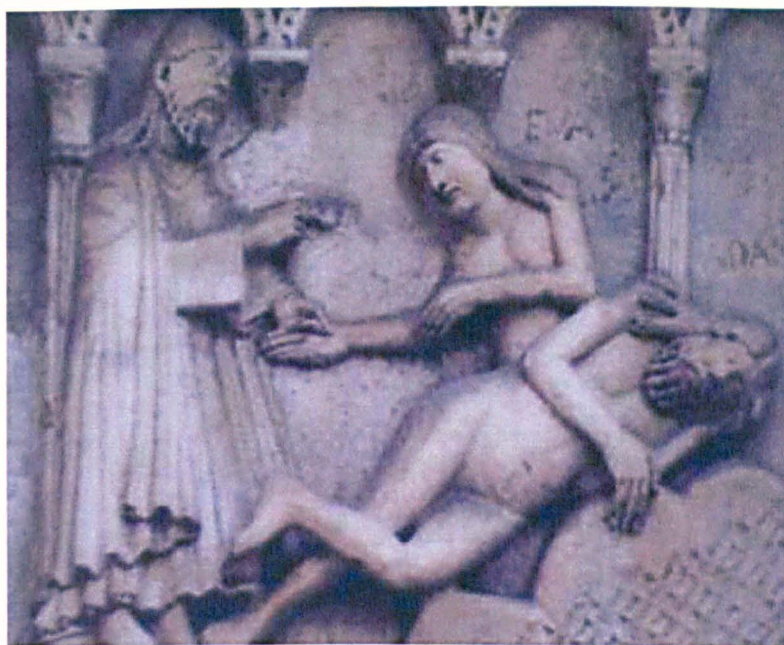


Figure 59. Wiligelmo, *Creation of Eve*, before 1110, detail of relief sculpture, Cathedral of Modena, western façade.



Figure 60. Church of San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, western façade.





Figure 61. Niccolò, *Scenes from the New Testament and the Genesis*, mid-12th century, Church of San Zeno, western façade.





Figure 62. Niccolò, *Scenes of the Genesis*, mid-12th century, Church of San Zeno, western façade, south side of portal.





Figure 63. *Stories from the New Testament*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, internal pilaster south of central portal.





Figure 64. Niccolò, *Scenes from the New Testament*, mid-12th century, Church of San Zeno, western façade, north side of portal.





Figure 65. Church of San Pietro, Spoleto, western façade.





Figure 66. *Proverbs and Stories from the life of Saint Peter*, detail, late 12th century, Church of San Pietro, Spoleto, western façade, south side of portal.





Figure 67. Church of San Marco, Venice, western façade as seen today.



Figure 68. *Portale di Sant'Alipio*, c.1265, mosaic illustrating the 13th century western façade, Church of San Marco, Venice, western façade.





Figure 69. Rubeus, *Christ among the Apostles*, *Porta del Vescovado*, bronze relief sculpture, c.1270, Orvieto Cathedral, architrave above the south portal.





Figure 70. *Bronze equestrian sculptures*, (copy placed on the façade after 1977 restoration), pillaged from Constantinople in 1204, gilt bronze, Church of San Marco, Venice, western façade.





Figure 71. *Symbol of Saint John the Evangelist*, c.1329, bronze sculpture, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade.





Figure 72. Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Spoleto, façade.

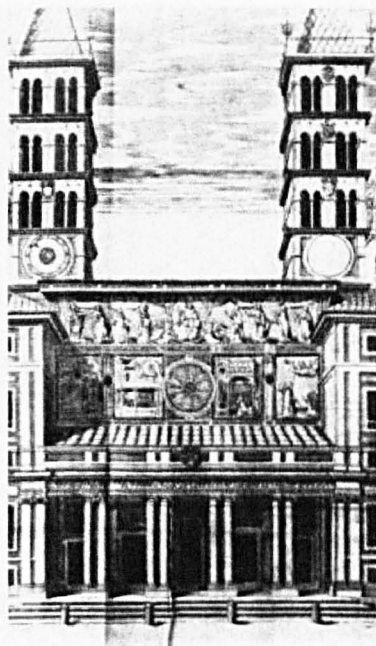


Figure 73. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, drawing of the eastern façade before 18th century addition of portico and loggia, (after de Angelis, 1621). (Gardner 1973).



Figure 74. Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, drawing of the 13th century apse at western end of basilica, (after de Angelis, 1621). (Gardner 1973).



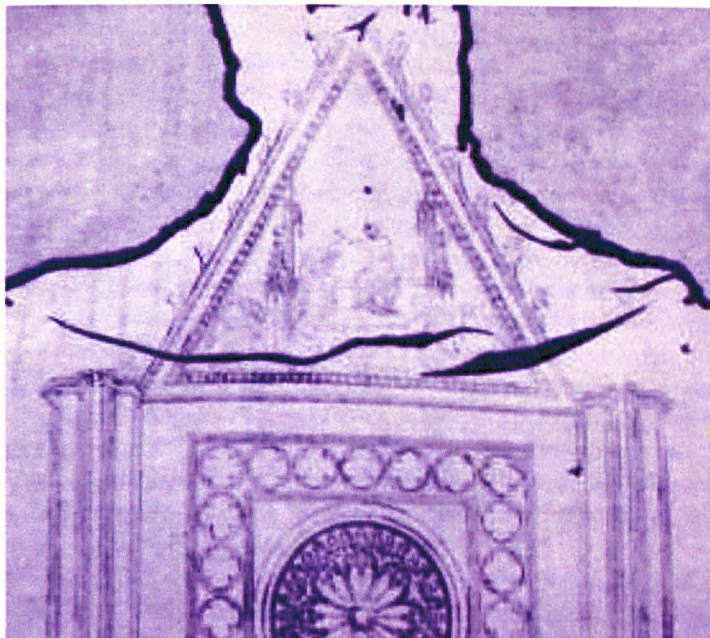


Figure 75. Copy of 1<sup>st</sup> preparatory drawing of cathedral façade, Orvieto, detail, before 1295, 19th century copy, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q2, 101 x 74 cm. (Fumi 1891).

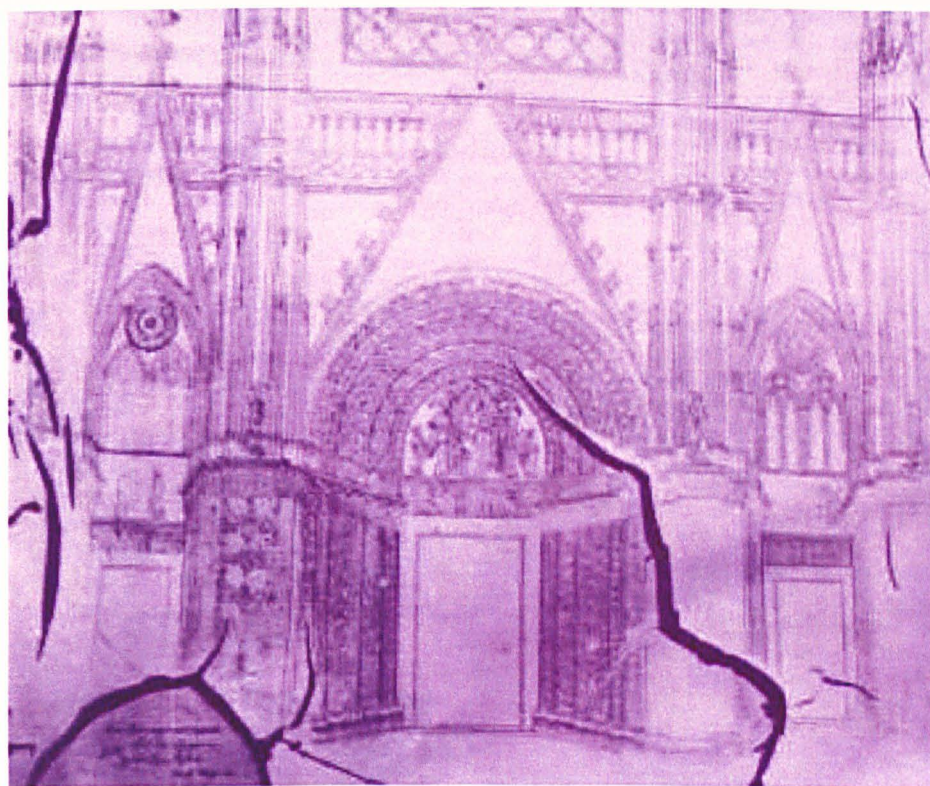


Figure 76. Copy of 1<sup>st</sup> preparatory drawing of cathedral façade, Orvieto, detail, before 1295, 19th century copy, Orvieto, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. Nr. Q2, 101 x 74 cm. (Fumi 1891).



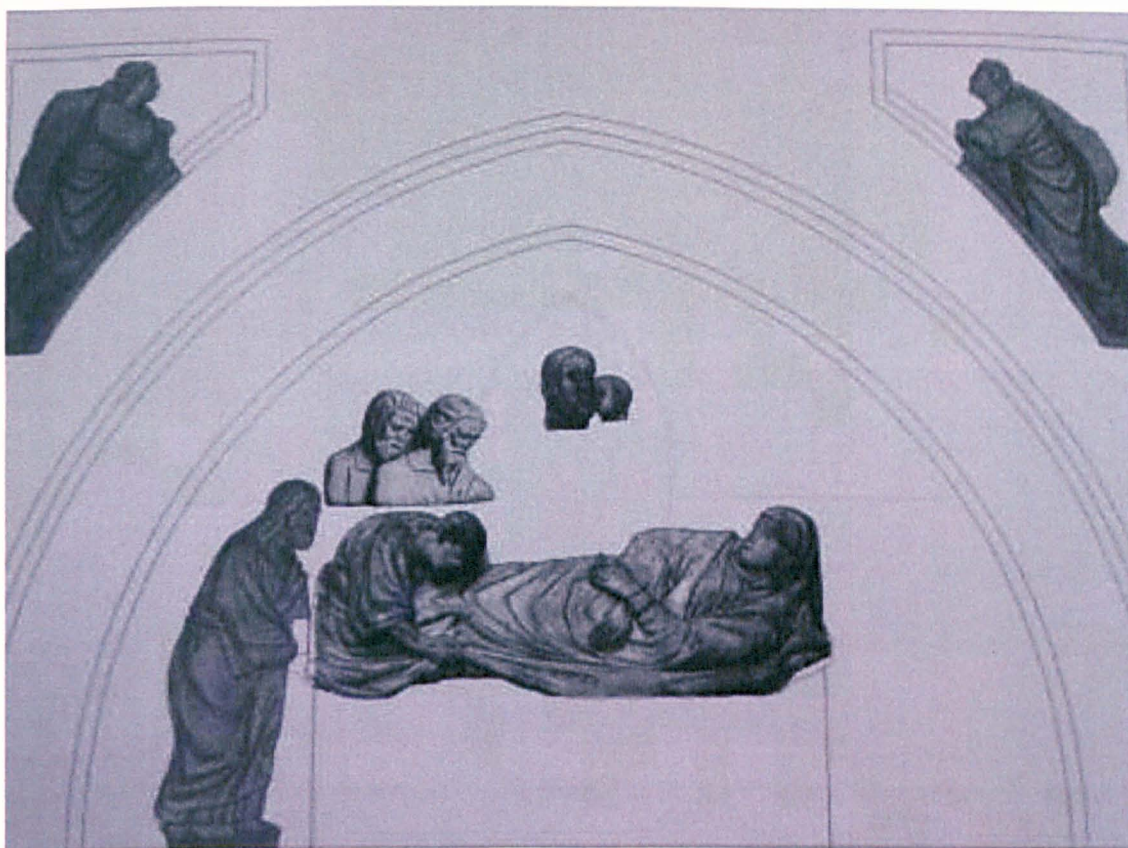


Figure 77. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Dormitio Virginis*, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, suggested reconstruction of the relief sculpture in the tympanum above the right portal on the façade. (Neri Lusanna 2005).

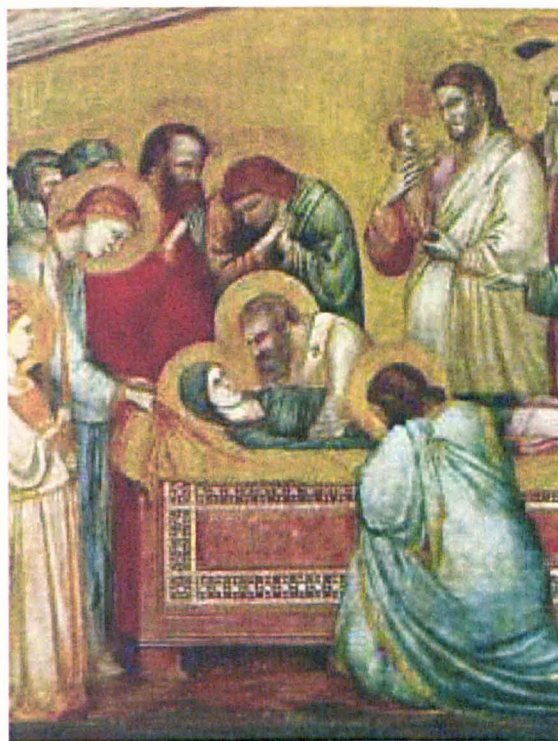


Figure 78. Giotto di Bondone, *Dormitio Virginis*, detail, c.1320, panel painting, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

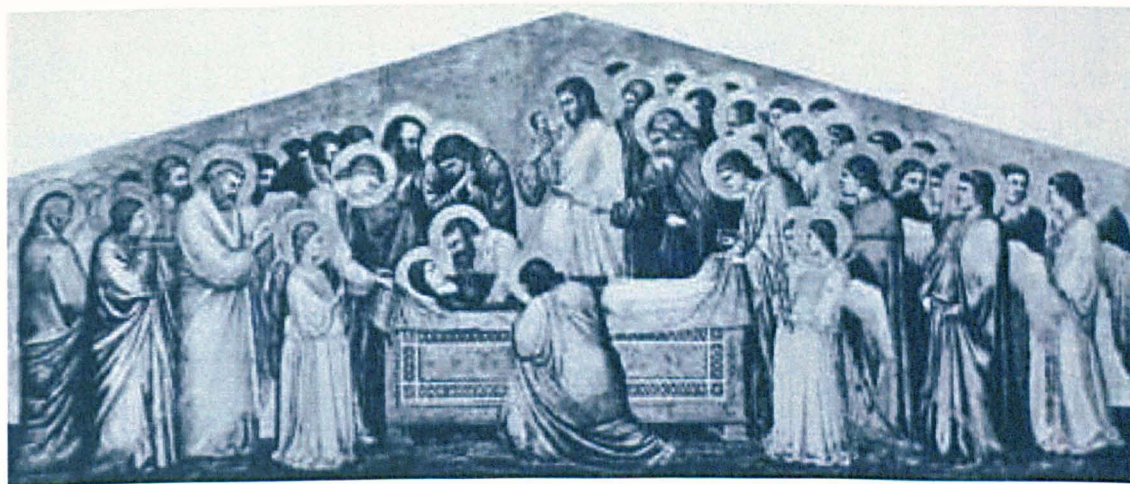
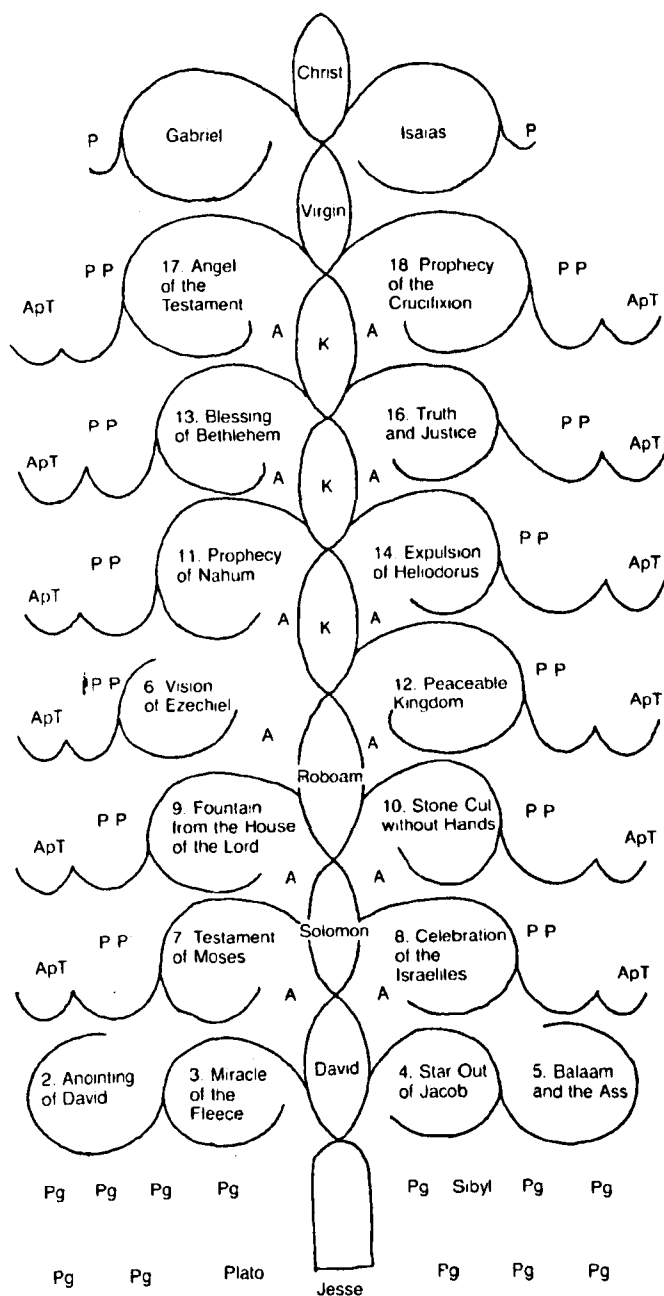


Figure 79. Giotto di Bondone, *Dormitio Virginis*, c.1320, panel painting, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 75 x 178 cm.





Figure 80. *Tree of Jesse*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, internal pilaster north of central portal.



3. A = Ancestor; ApT = Apostle Teaching;  
K = King; P = Prophet; Pg = Pagan

Figure 81. *Tree of Jesse*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, internal pilaster north of central portal, diagram from M.D. Taylor.



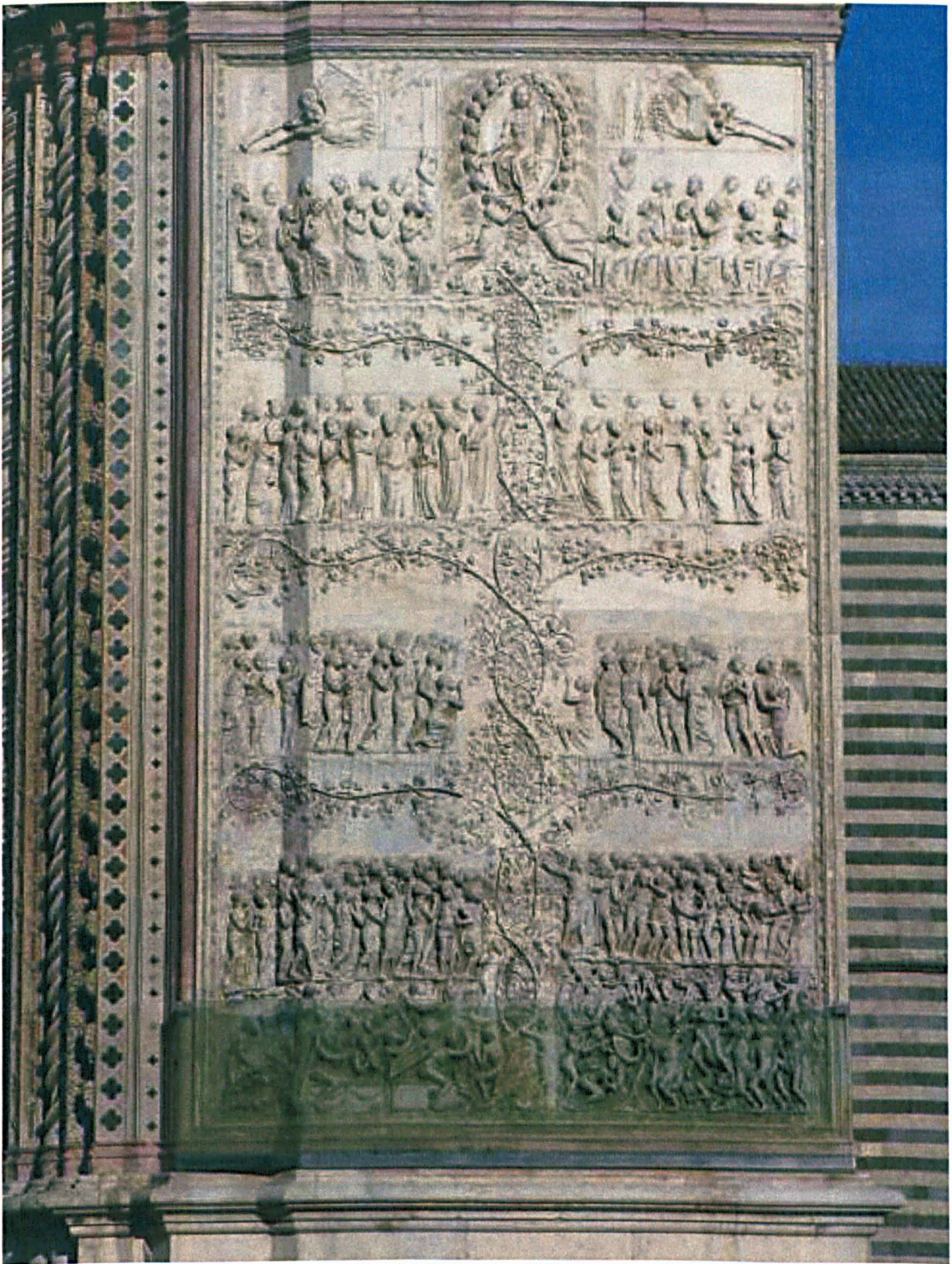


Figure 82. *Last Judgement*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster south of central portal.





Figure 83. Abbey Church of Saint-Gilles du Gard, view of western façade.

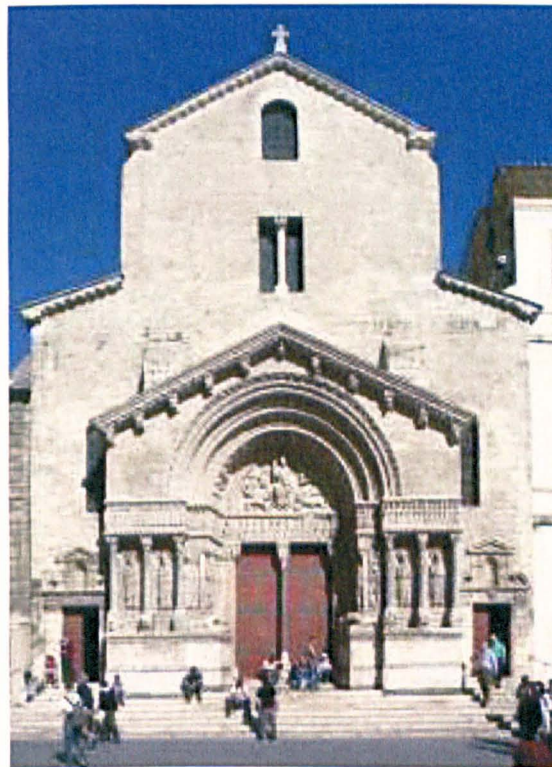


Figure 84. Church of Saint-Trophime, Arles, view of central portal on façade.



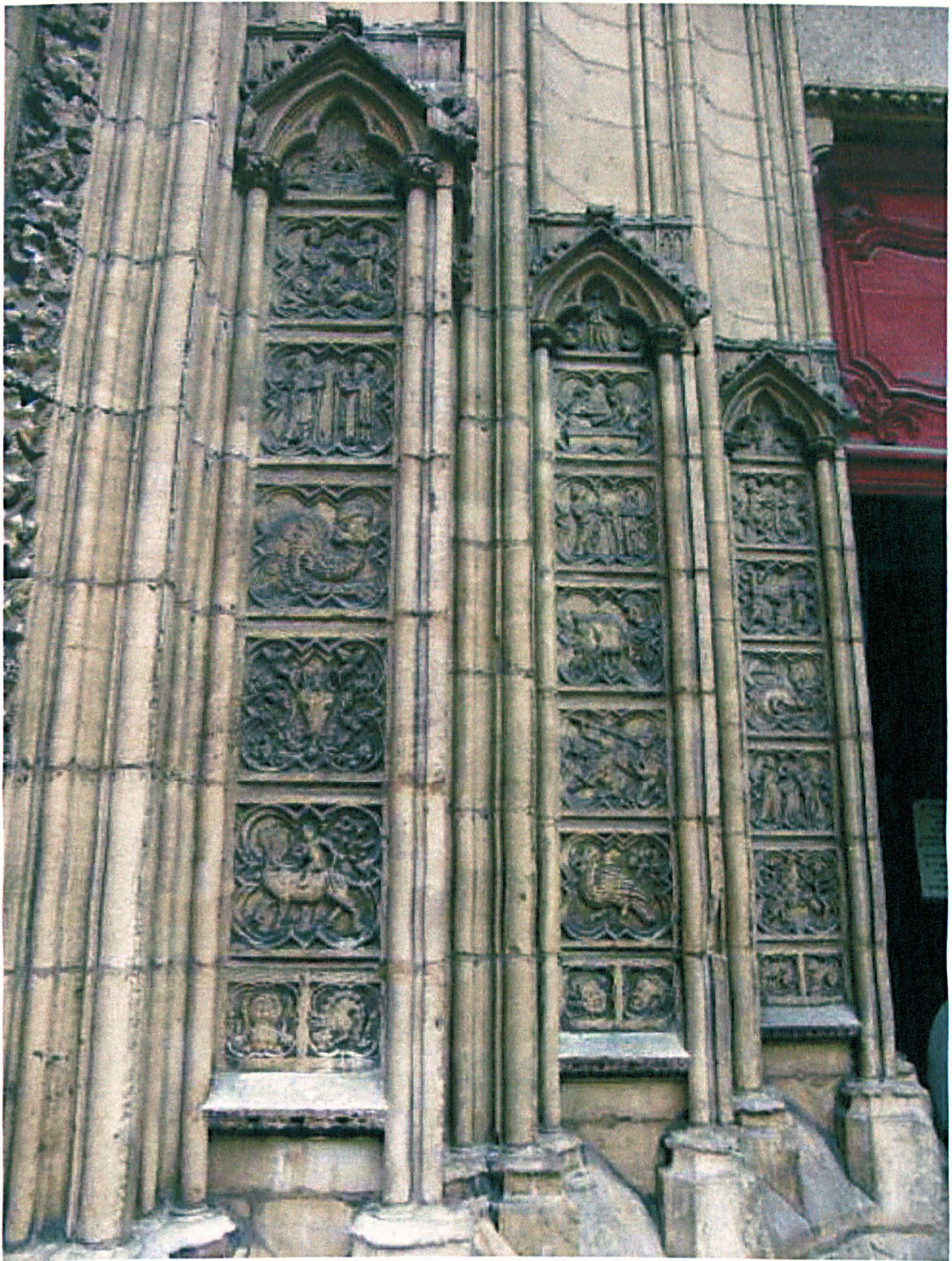


Figure 85. Cathedral of Saint-Jean, Lyon, western façade, north portal, detail of north socle, 1308-1322, relief sculpture.



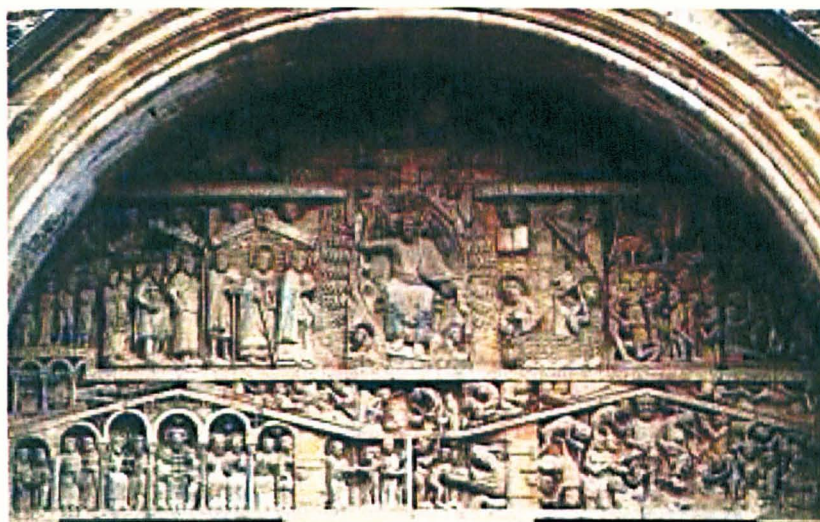


Figure 86. *Last Judgement*, second quarter of 12th century, Abbey Church of Saint-Foy, Conques, Tympanum of the Last Judgement Portal, western façade.

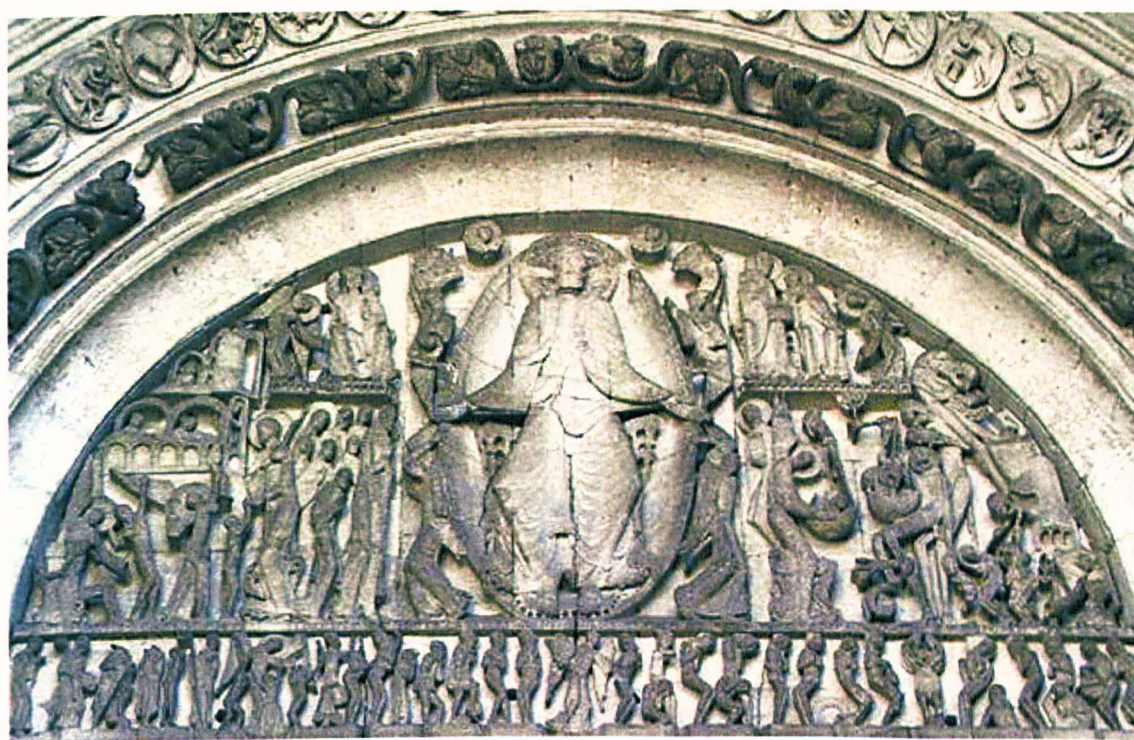


Figure 87. Gislebertus, *Last Judgement*, (1125-1140), Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Autun, tympanum above the central portal of the façade.





Figure 88. Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, western façade.



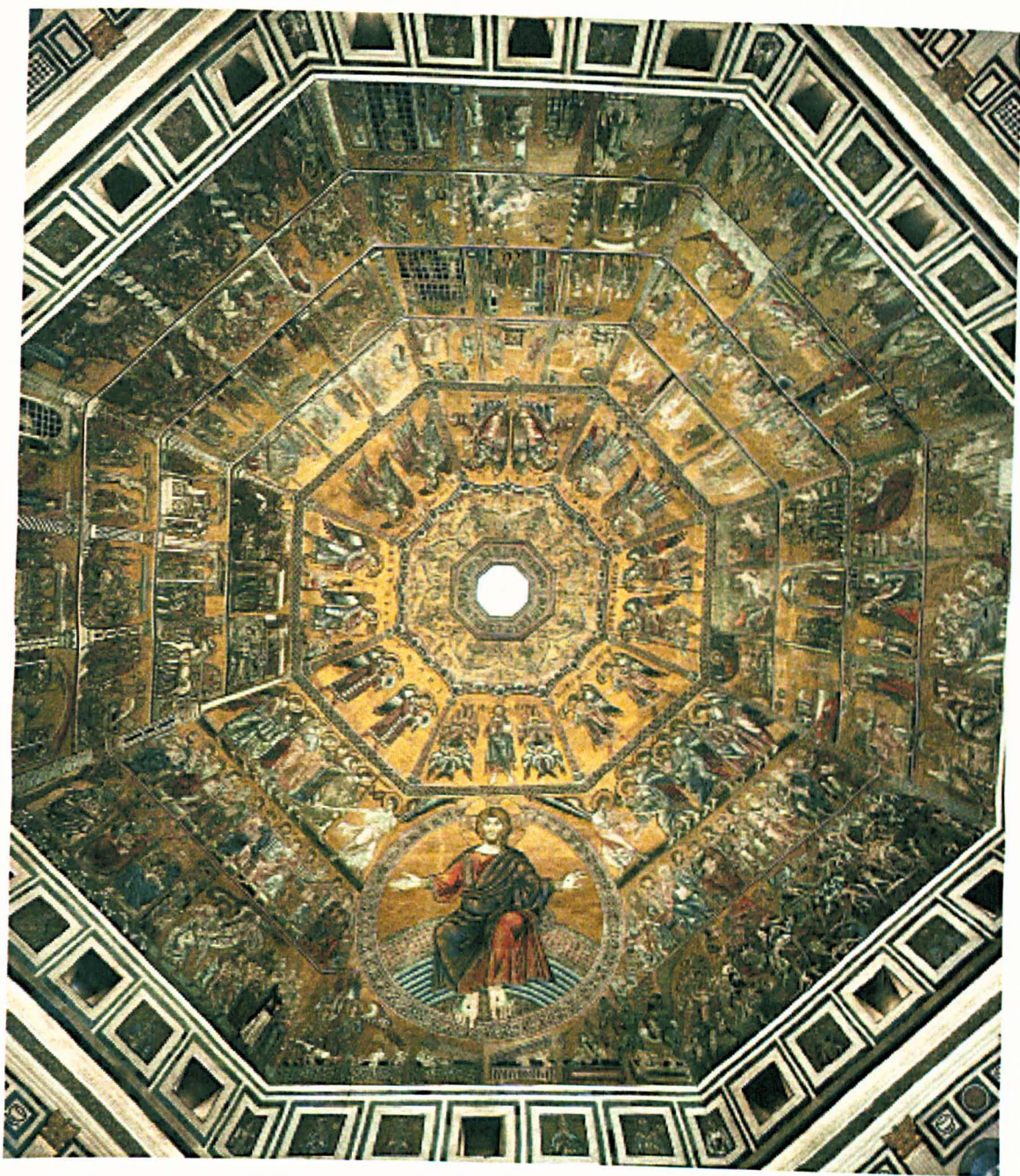


Figure 89. Baptistery of San Giovanni, Florence, mosaics, internal view of dome.



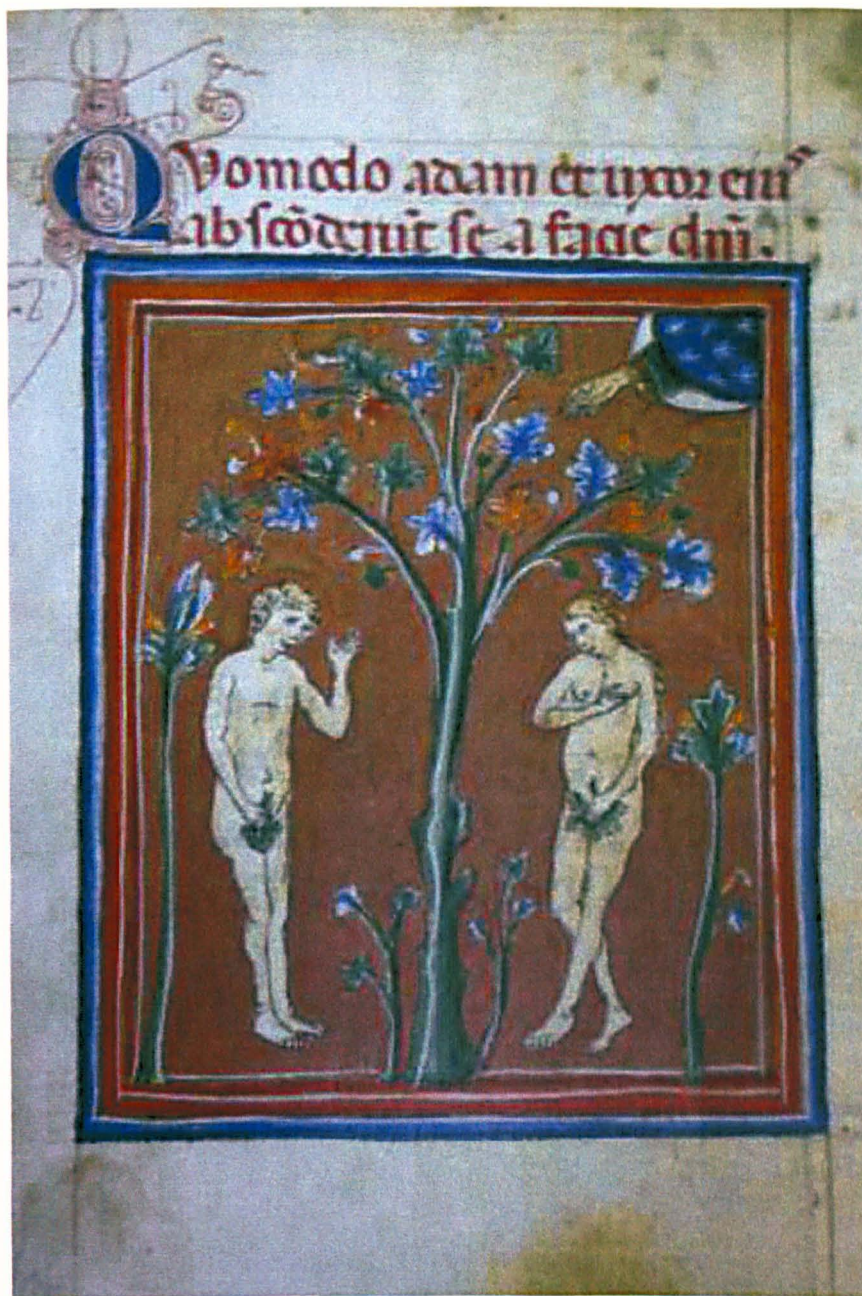


Figure 90. *Adam and Eve hide themselves*, c.1290, *Tractatus de creatione mundi*, gold and tempera on parchment, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, cod. H.VI.31, fol. 93v, 20.5 x 14.5 cm.





Figure 91. *Creation of the waters, birds and animals*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.



Figure 92. *Creation of Adam*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.



Figure 93. *Creation of Eve*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.





Figure 94. *God condemns Man*, c.1290, *Tractatus de creatione mundi*, gold and tempera on parchment, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, cod. H.VI.31, fol. 93v, 20.5 x 14.5 cm.



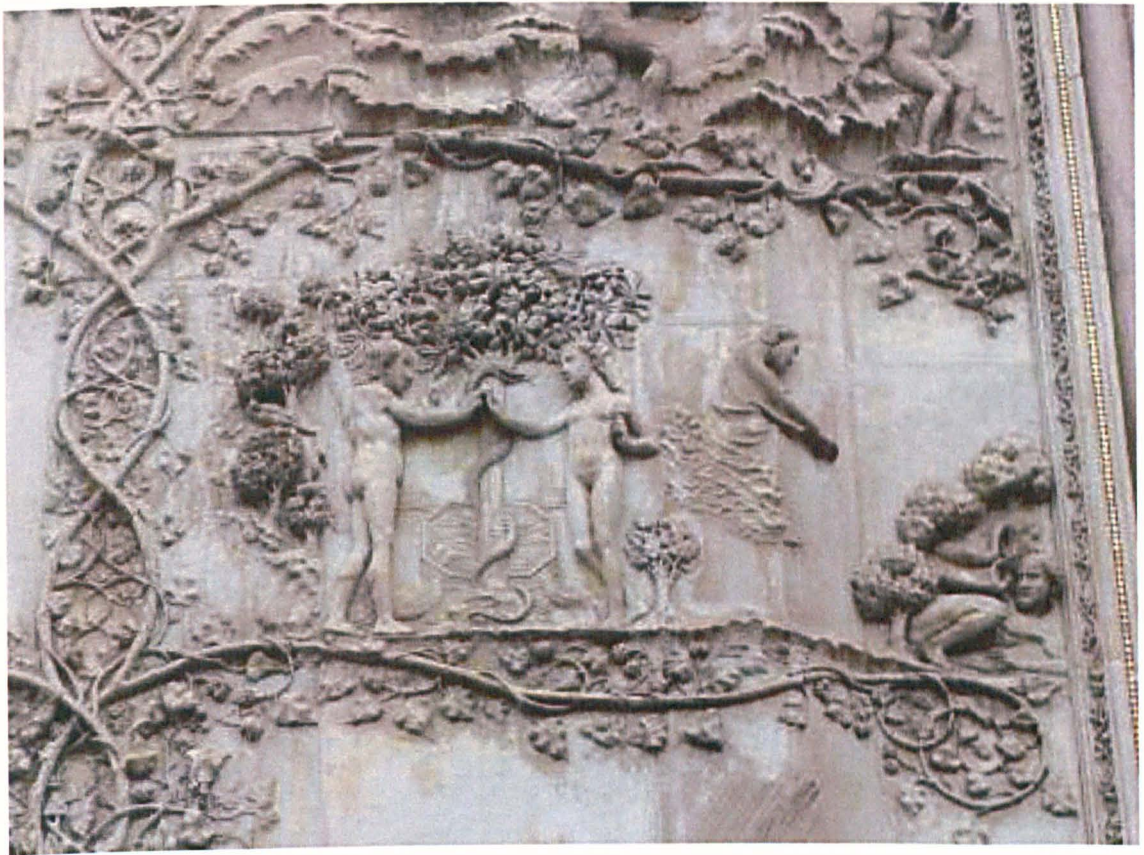


Figure 95. *The Fall of Man*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.

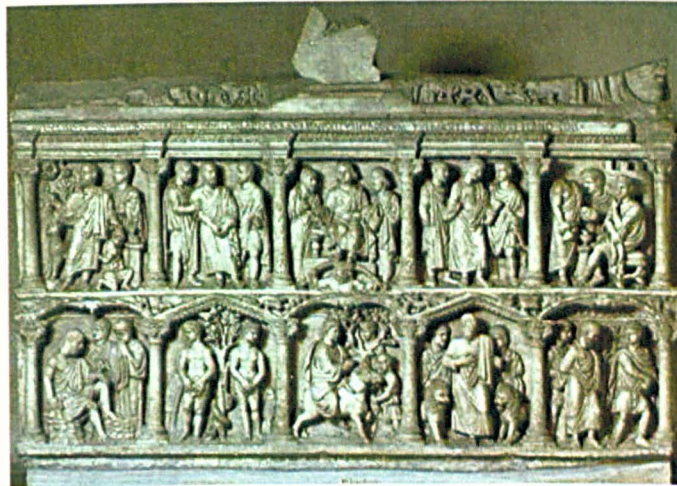


Figure 96. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, c.359, marble relief sculpture, Musei Vaticani, Rome, 1.2 x 2.4 m.



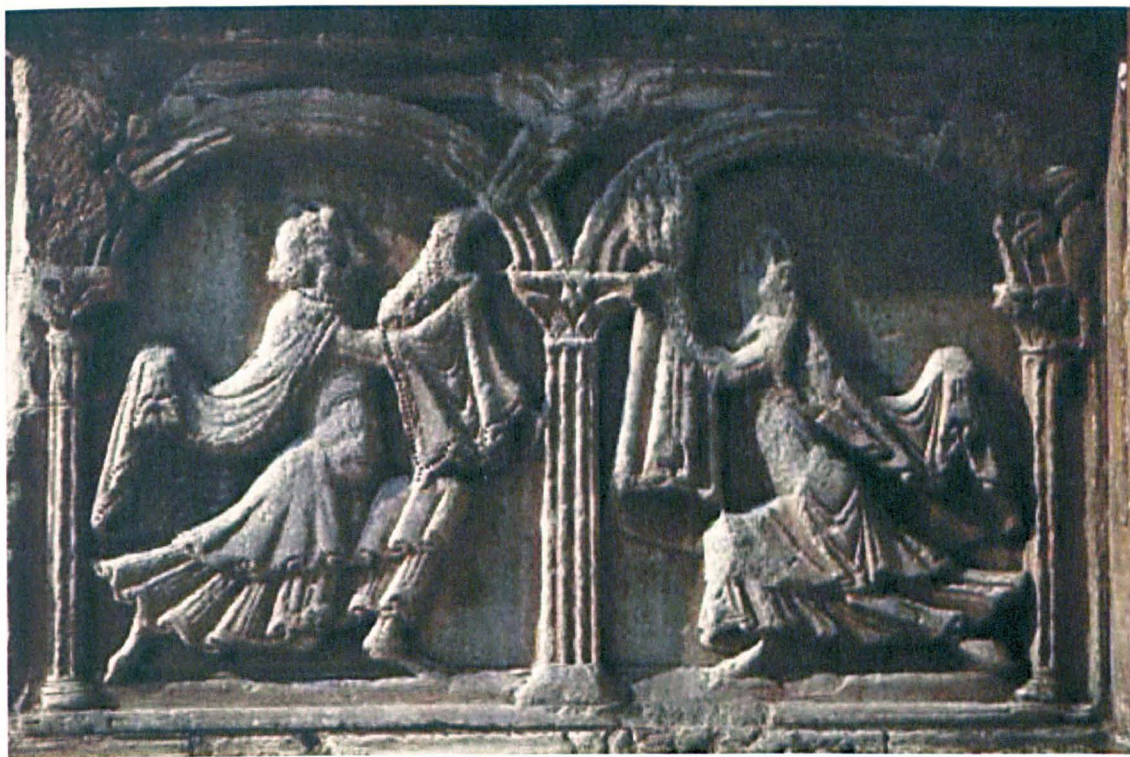


Figure 97. *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, detail of relief sculptures, c.1142-1150, Abbey Church of Saint-Gilles du Gard, west façade.



Figure 98. *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, detail from *Stories from the Genesis*, 1308-1322, relief sculpture, Cathedral of Saint-Jean, Lyon, western façade, central portal, detail of south socle.



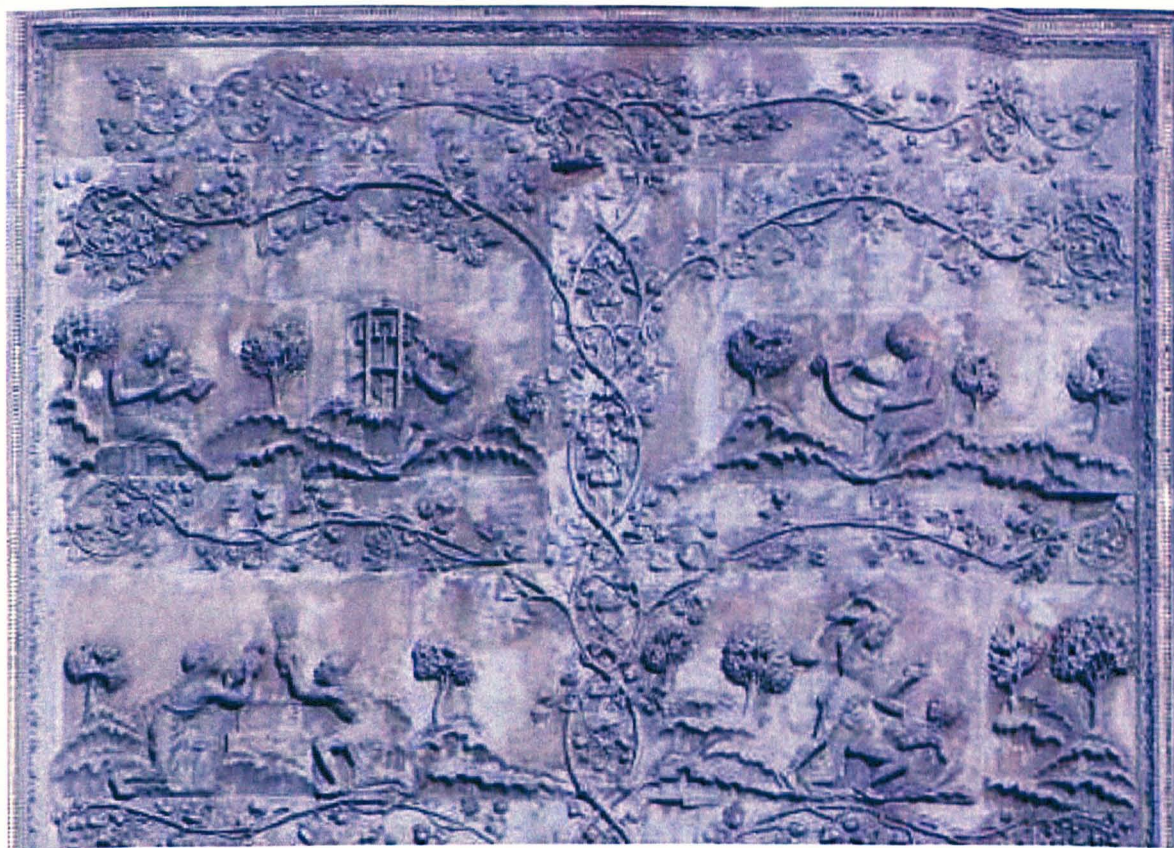


Figure 99. *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Cain slaying Abel, Representations of the Liberal Arts: Grammar, Music and Geometry*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.

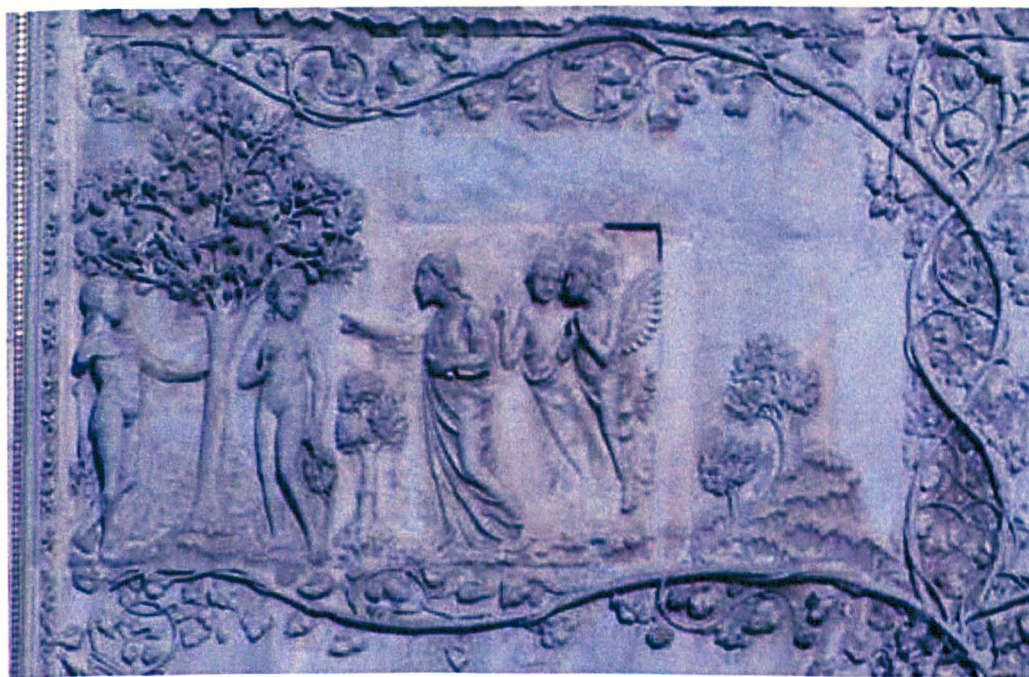


Figure 100. *God instructing Adam and Eve not to eat from the Tree of Good and Evil*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.





Figure 101. *Ivy*, detail of *Stories from the Genesis*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster north of central portal.



Figure 102. *Grape vine*, detail of *Last Judgement*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster south of central portal.



Figure 103. *Tree of Jesse*, (lower register), *Vyšehrad Codex*, c.1086, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, MS XIV A 13, fol. 4v, 4.2 x 3.3 cm.



Figure 104. *Tree of Jesse*, detail of Romanesque sculpted reliefs, Cathedral of Notre-Dame la Grande, Poitiers, western façade.



Figure 105. *Tree of Jesse*, early twelfth century, detail of bronze reliefs, Church of San Zeno, Verona, western façade.





Figure 106. *Tree of Jesse*, c. 1175-1185, detail of Pulpit in the Church of San Leonardo in Arcetri, originally in the Church of San Piero Scheraggio, Florence.





Figure 107. Pulpit in the Church of San Leonardo in Arcetri, originally in the Church of San Piero Scheraggio, Florence, c. 1175-1185, sculpted marble with polychromatic marble inlay.



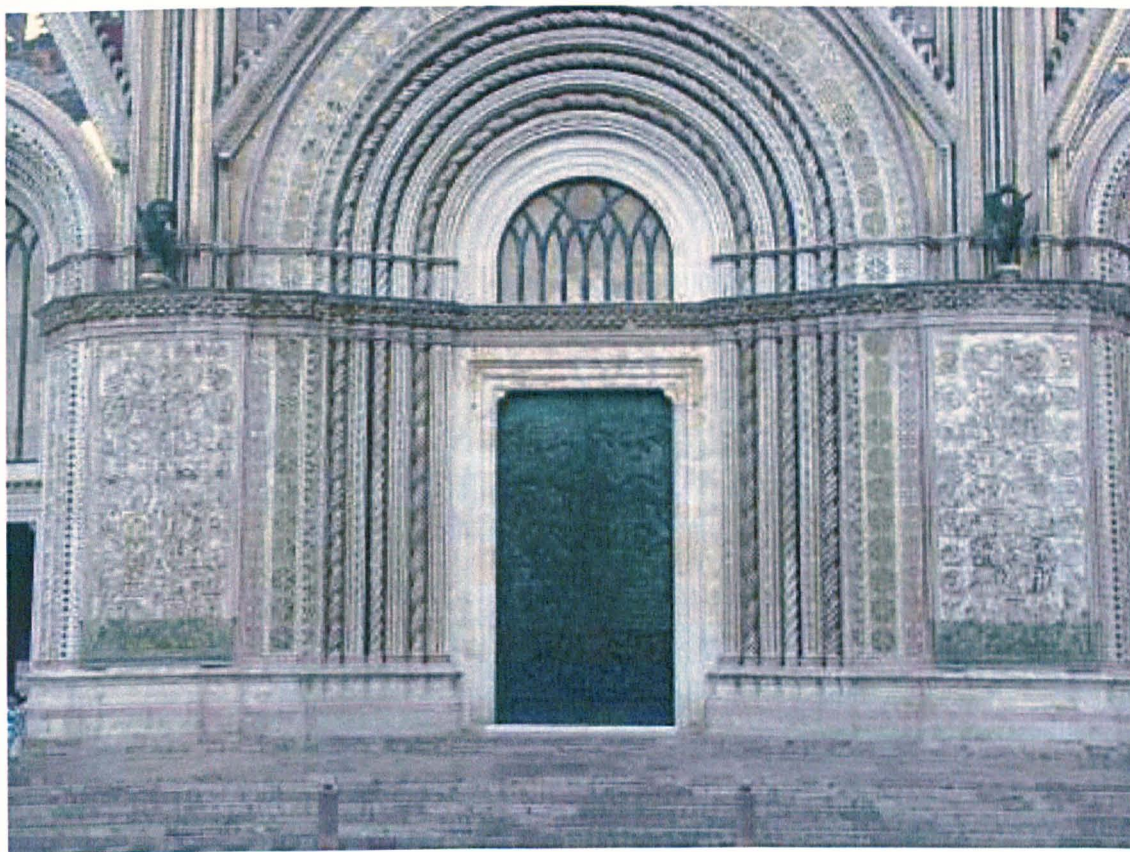


Figure 108. Orvieto Cathedral, detail of two Jesse Trees used as framing devices on the inner pilasters on the lower level of western façade, before 1330.





Figure 109. *Tree of Jesse*, c.1225, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, western façade, south side of central portal.



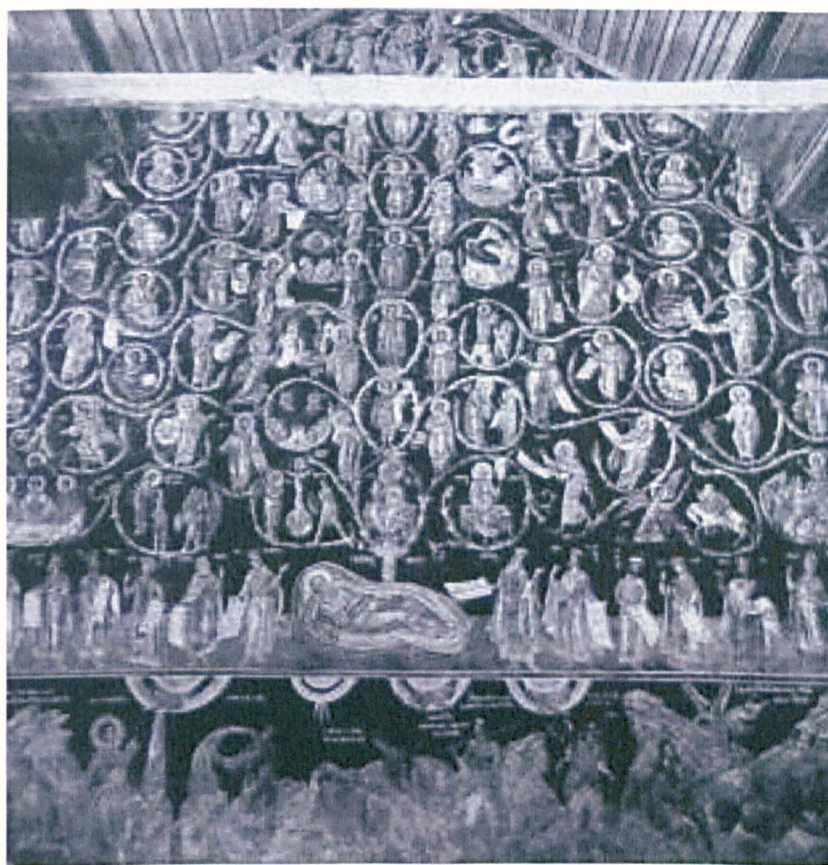


Figure 110. *Tree of Jesse*, early sixteenth century, fresco, Mount Athos, Monastery of Laura, refectory.



Figure 111. Diagram of fresco illustrating the *Tree of Jesse*, c.1268, Church of the Trinity, Sopoćani. (Milanović 1989).



Figure 112. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *The relic of Bolsena is displayed to the public of Orvieto*, c.1357-1359, Orvieto Cathedral, Chapel of the Corporal, right hand wall facing the altar.



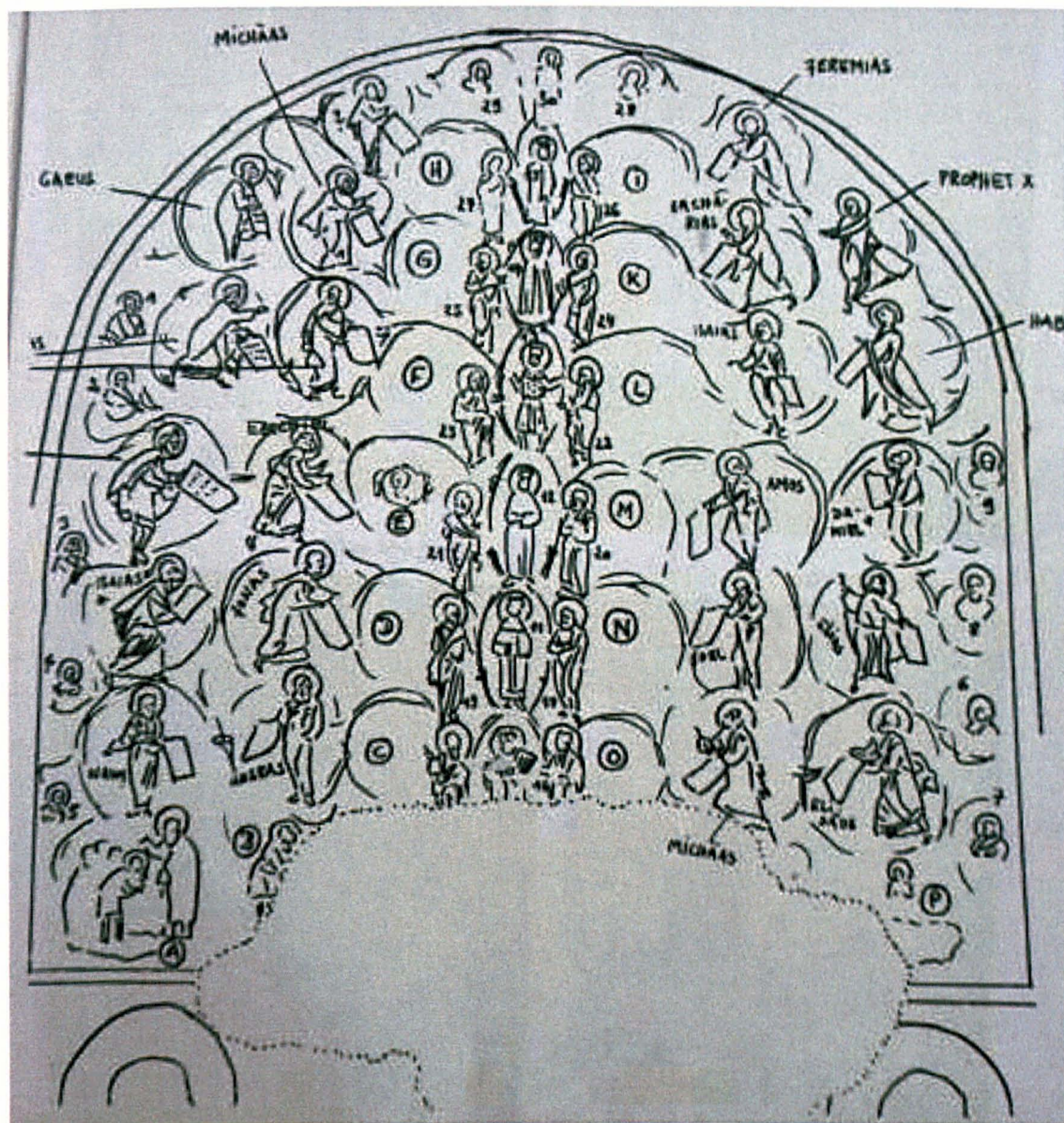


Figure 113. Diagram of fresco illustrating the *Tree of Jesse*, c.1315, Church of the Apostles, Thessaloniki. (Stephan 1986).





Figure 114. *King David*, detail of the *Tree of Jesse*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, internal pilaster north of central portal.





Figure 115. *Sarcophagus of Costantina*, c.330-360, red porphyry, Museo Pio Clementino, Musei Vaticani, Rome, height 2.25 m.



Figure 116. Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna, view of apse mosaics, c.550 AD.



Figure 117. Basilica of San Clemente, Rome, view of apse mosaics, c.1128.





Figure 118. Sculpted pilaster with people acanthus scrolls, Eastern Roman Empire, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi.





Figure 119. *Adam*, detail of the *Stories from the New Testament*, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, internal pilaster south of central portal.



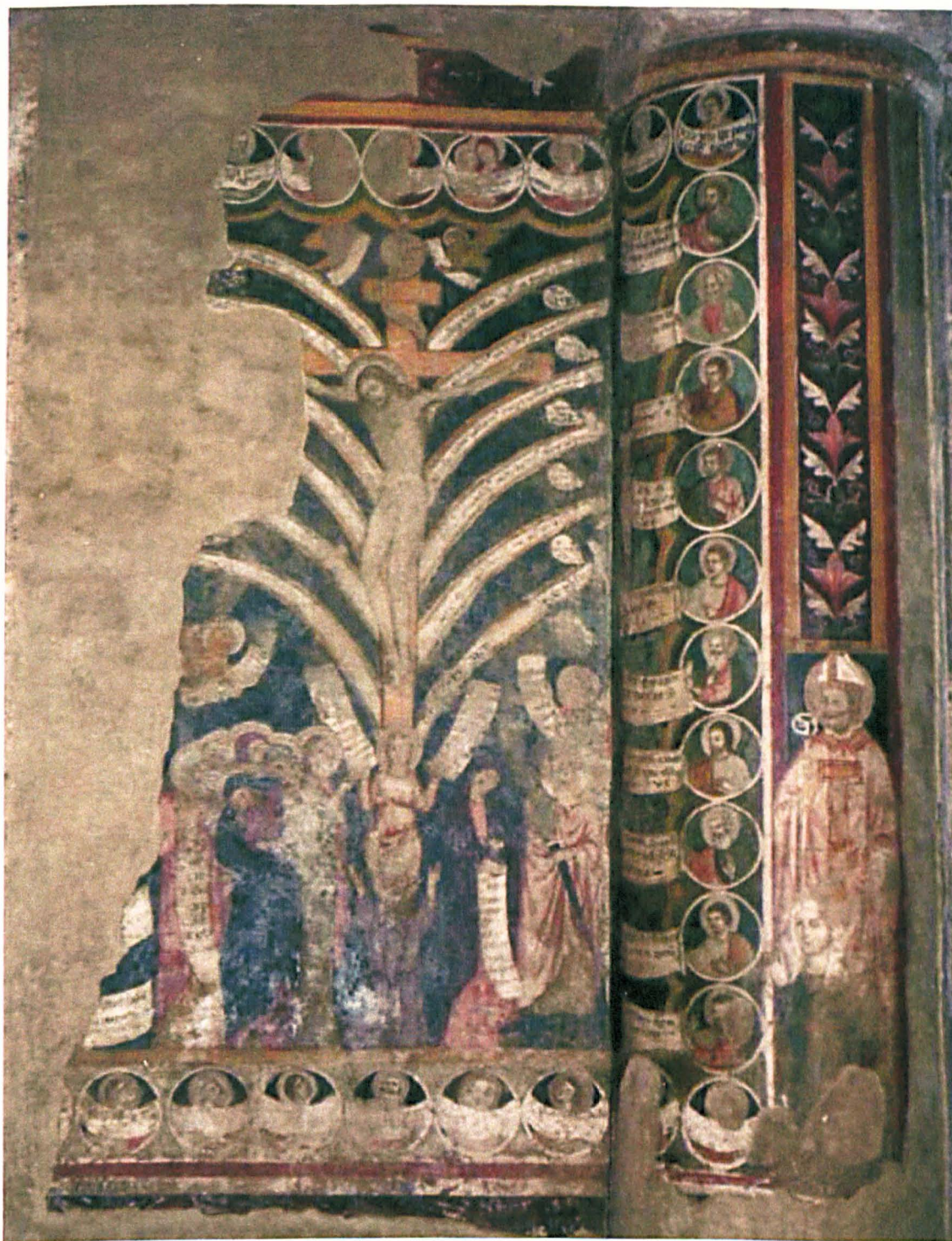


Figure 120. *Tree of Life*, first half of fourteenth century, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto, view of interior western wall.





Figure 121. *Last Judgement*, c.1090, fresco, Church of San Michele Arcangelo in Formis, Capua, view of interior wall of façade.

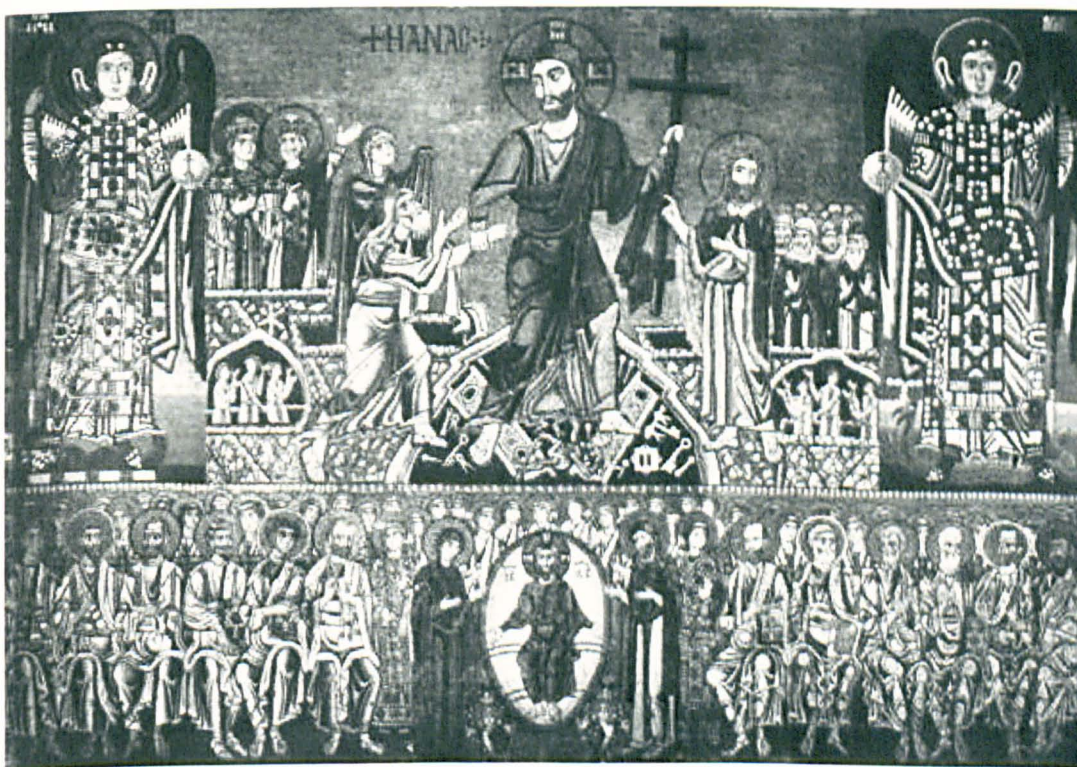


Figure 122. *Last Judgement*, 19th century repeating a design of the second half of the 13th century, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello.





Figure 123. *Last Judgement*, 1307-1312, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, view of interior western wall.



Figure 124. Giotto di Bondone, *Last Judgement*, 1304-1306, fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua, view of entrance wall.





Figure 125. *Last Judgement*, c.1305, fresco, Kariye Camii, Byzantine Constantinople (Istanbul), vaults of *pareccleseion*.



Figure 126. *Last Judgement*, detail of Saints Domenic and Francis, with Bishop Francesco (?) and Pope Nicholas IV (?), before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster south of central portal.



Figure 127. Jacopo Torriti, *Pope Nicholas IV*, c.1290, detail of 19<sup>th</sup> century copy of Jacopo Torriti's apse mosaic, San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.





Figure 128. *Last Judgement*, detail of Lorenzo Maitani, his sons and Fra' Bevignate?, before 1330, Orvieto Cathedral, western façade, external pilaster south of central portal.

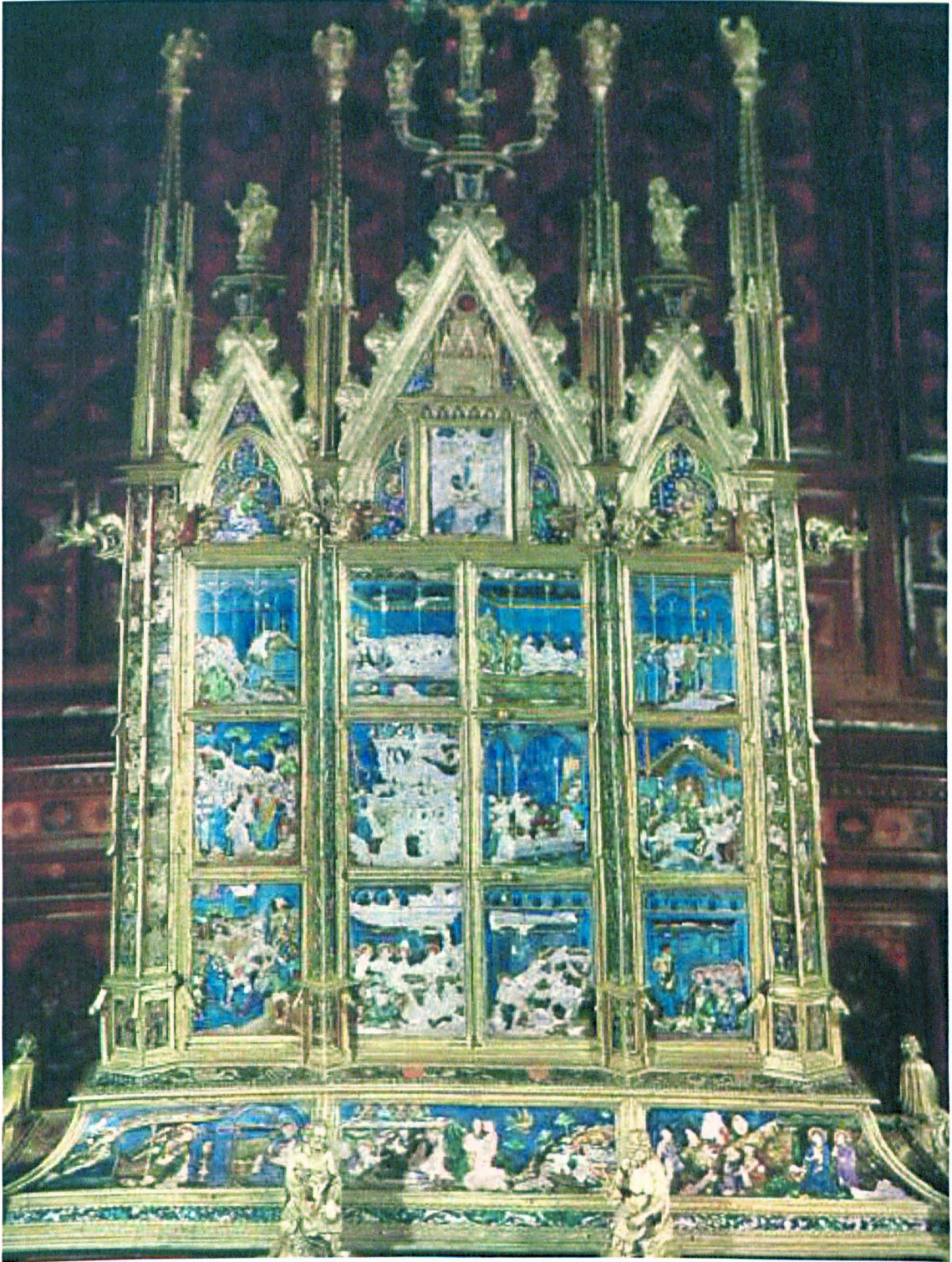


Figure 129. Ugolino di Vieri, *Reliquary of the Corporal*, c.1338, enamel, silver and gold, Orvieto Cathedral, Chapel of the Corporal, view of the front of the reliquary, 60 x 139 cm.





Figure 130. Nicola Pisano, *Pulpit*, c.1260, Baptistery, Pisa.



Figure 131. Nicola Pisano, *Pulpit*, 1265-1268, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Siena.





Figure 132. Giovanni Pisano, *Pulpit*, c.1301, Church of Sant'Andrea, Pistoia.



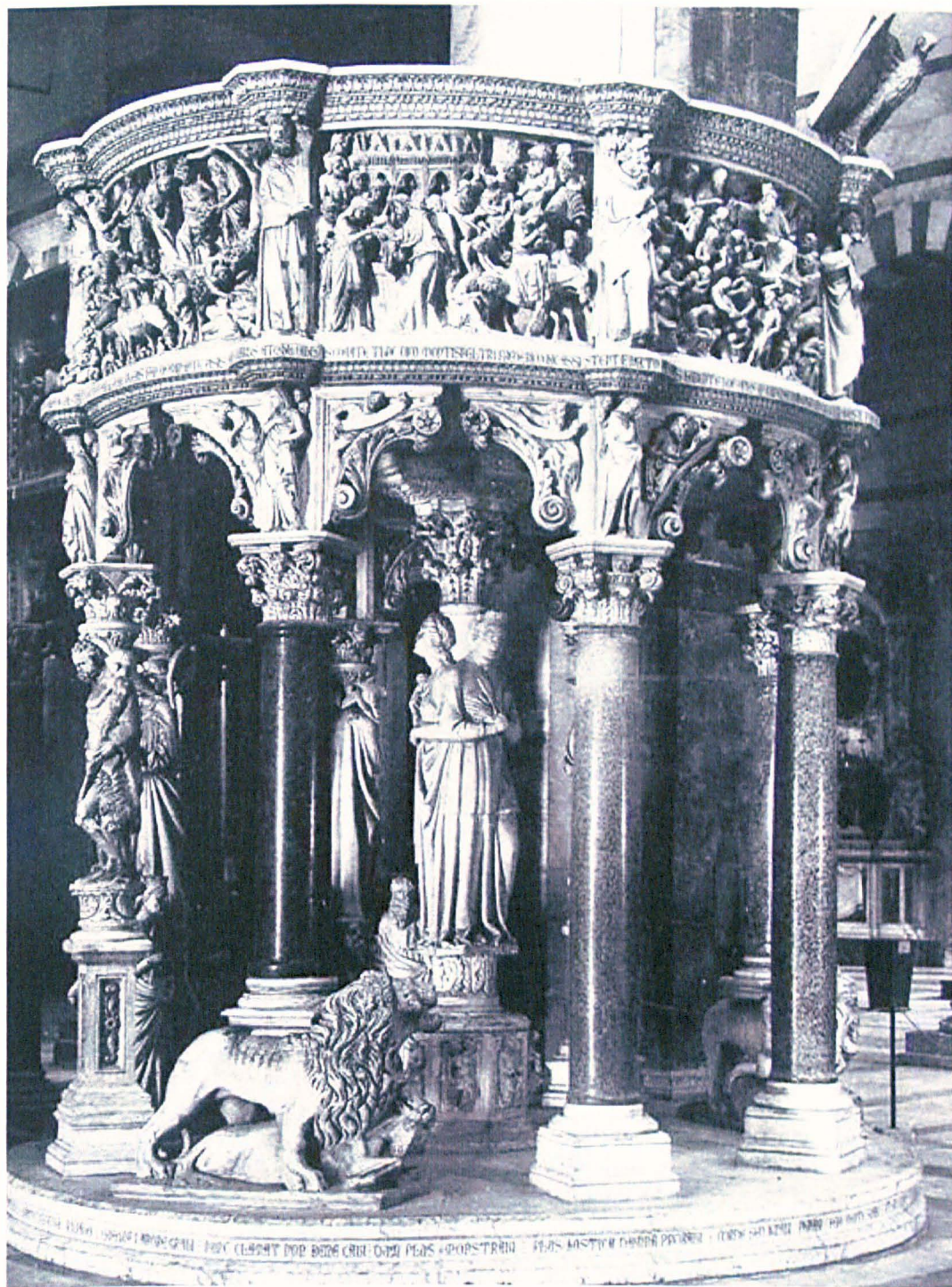


Figure 133. Giovanni Pisano, *Pulpit*, c.1310, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Pisa.





Figure 134. Goro di Gregorio, *Arca di San Cerbone*, c.1324, Cathedral of San Cerbone, Massa Marittima.

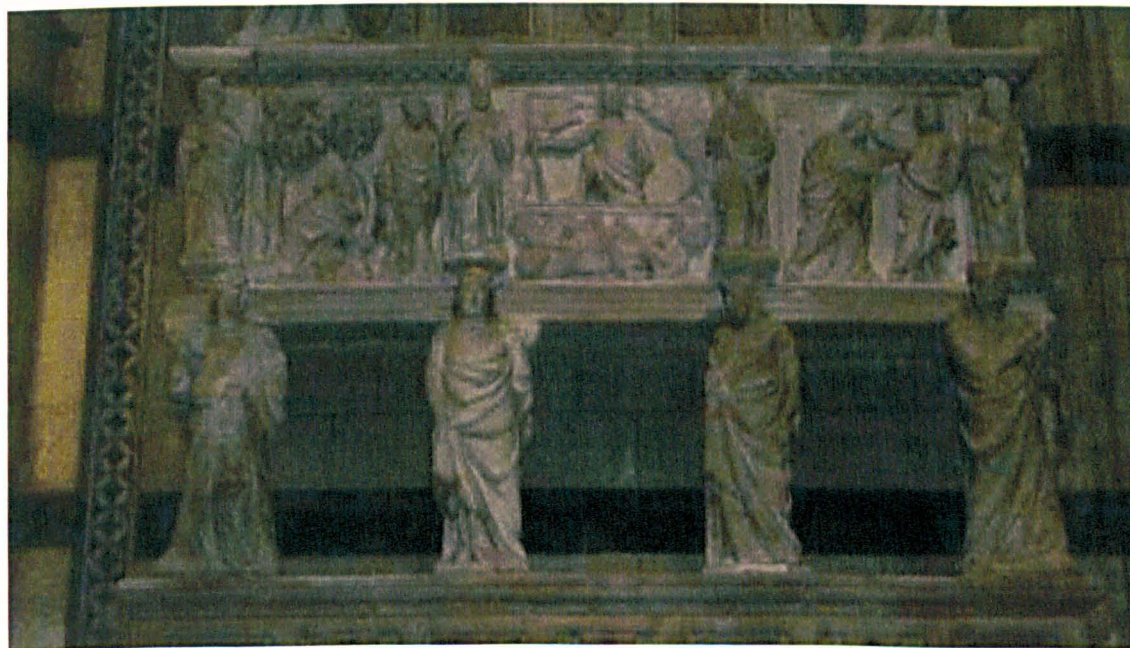


Figure 135. Tino di Camaino, *Tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni*, detail, d.1314, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Siena.





Figure 136. Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, *Tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati*, c.1330, Cathedral of San Donato, Arezzo.





Figure 137. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà*, c.1311, gold and tempera on wood, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, view of front and back panels, 370 x 450 cm.



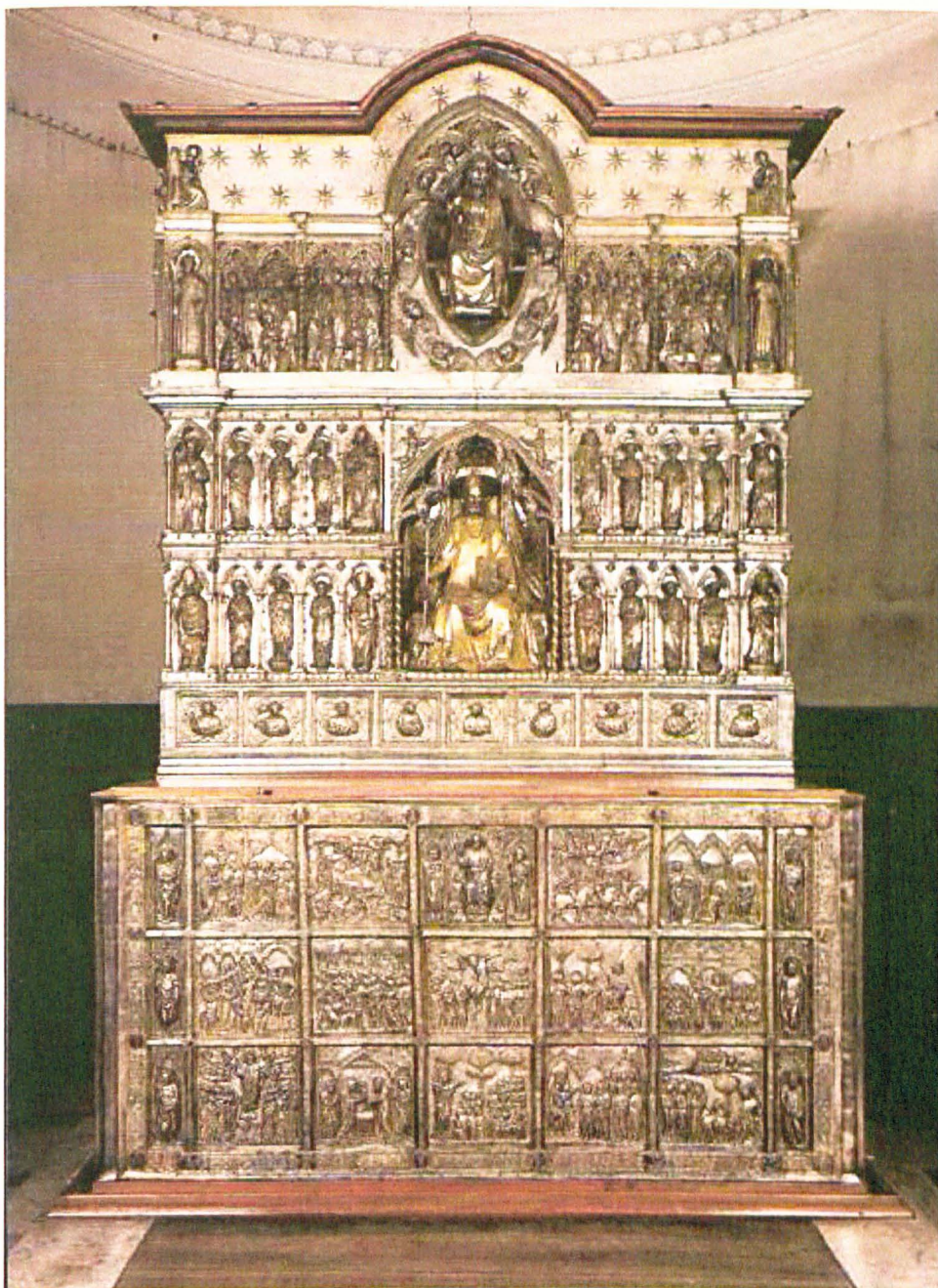


Figure 138. *Altar of San Jacopo*, 1287-1456, silver, gold, enamel and gems, Cathedral of San Zeno, Pistoia, Chapel of San Jacopo (originally known as the Chapel 'del Crocefisso'), dossal: 240.5 x 215 x 109 cm, paliotto: 105.5 x 215 x 34.5 cm.





Figure 139. Sano di Pietro, *San Bernardino preaching in Piazza del Campo*, c.1448, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.





Figure 140. Orvieto Cathedral, view of interior towards apse.



Figure 141. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *Stories from the Life of the Virgin*, 1370-1383, fresco, Orvieto Cathedral, view of north wall of tribune.





Figure 142. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *Stories from the Life of the Virgin*, 1370-1383, fresco, Orvieto Cathedral, view of south wall of tribune.



Figure 143. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *Stories from the Life of the Virgin*, 1370-1383, fresco, Orvieto Cathedral, view of vaults in tribune.



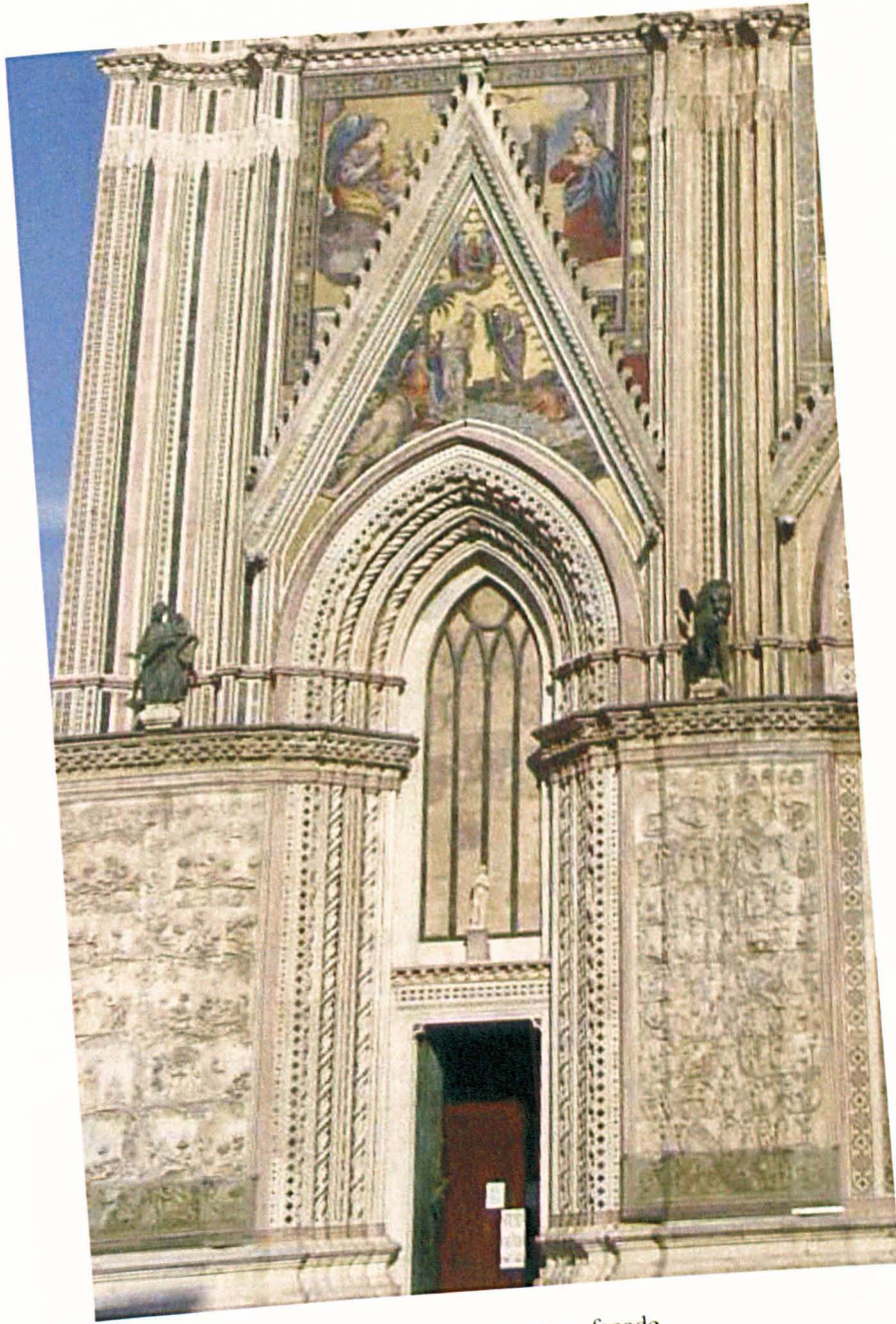


Figure 144. Orvieto Cathedral, detail of north side of western façade.



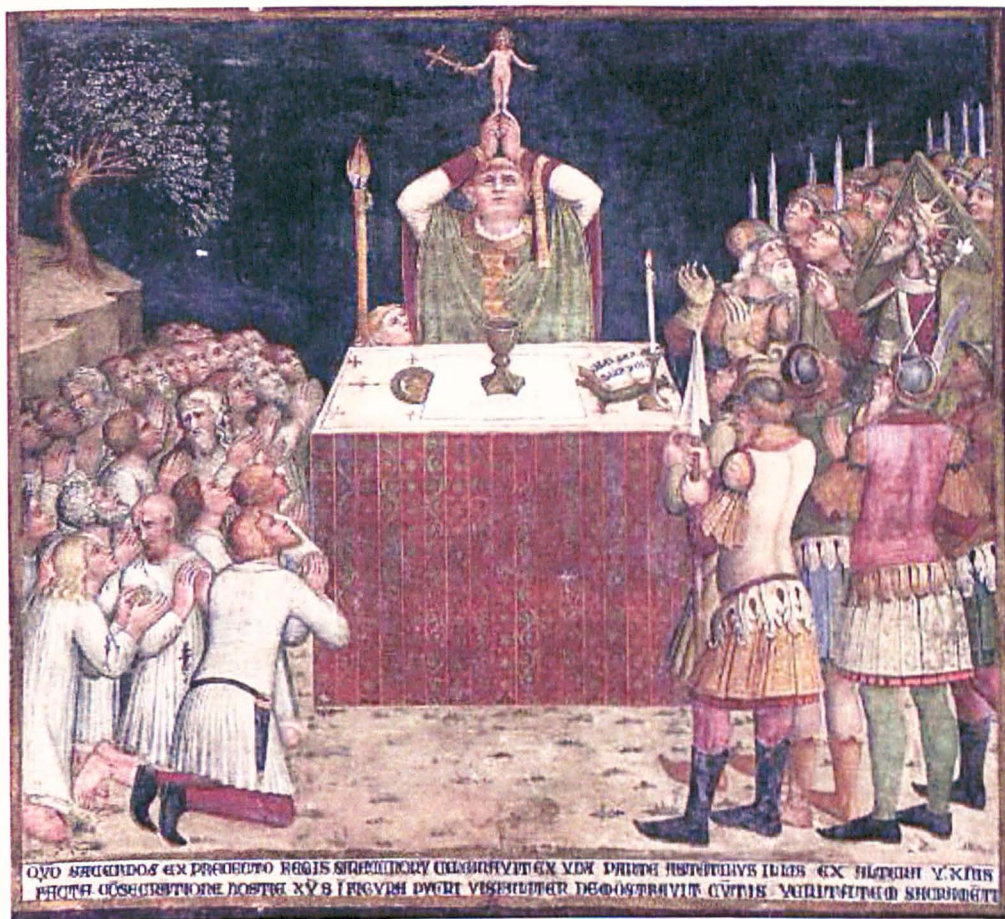


Figure 145. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, c.1357-1359, fresco, Orvieto Cathedral, Chapel of the Corporal, west wall.



Figure 146. Fra' Angelico and Signorelli, *Last Judgement, Antichrist, Resurrection*, 1447-1504, Orvieto Cathedral, view facing the altar (south) of the Cappella Nuova.





Figure 147. Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *Christians captured by Infidels in the Holy Land*, c.1357-1359, fresco, Orvieto Cathedral, Chapel of the Corporal, west wall.





Figure 148. *Tree of Jesse*, relief sculpture, 1204-1235, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca, pilaster on Portico.



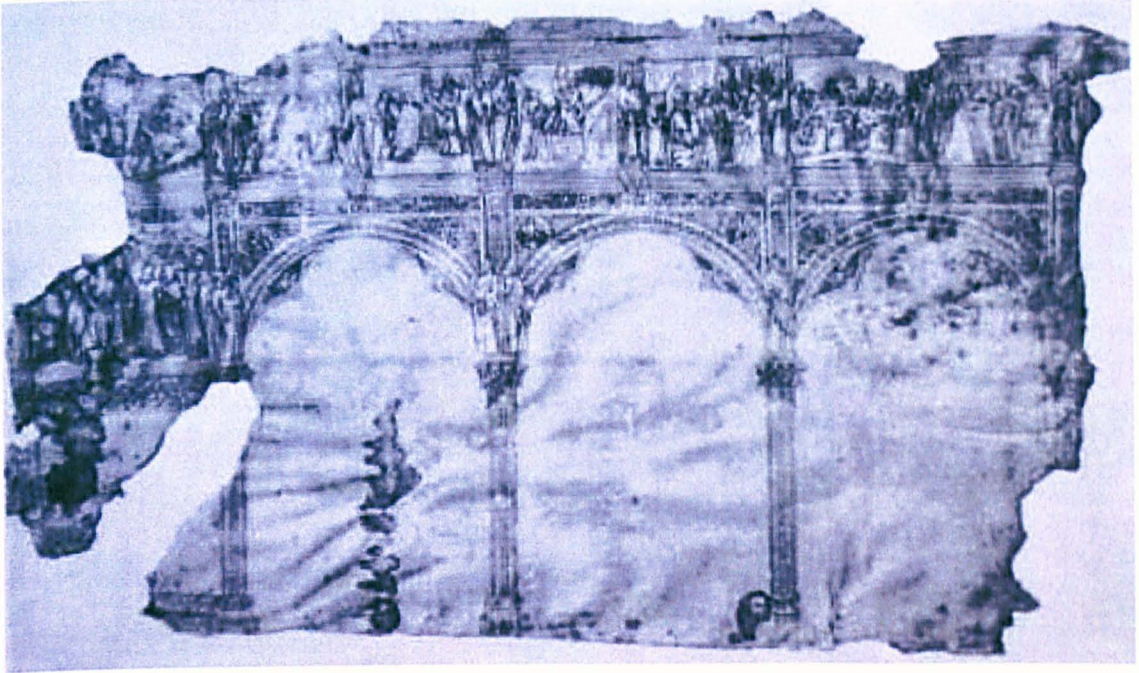


Figure 149. *The Marriage of the Virgin, The Nativity, The Epiphany, The Circumcision of Christ, Flight into Egypt, Palm Sunday, The Last Supper, The Kiss of Judas*, scenes illustrated on the *Preparatory Drawing for a pulpit*, first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, stylus and feather with ink on parchment, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 47.5 x 87 cm.



Figure 150. *The Flagellation of Christ, The Way to Calvary, The Crucifixion*, scenes illustrated on the *Preparatory Drawing for a pulpit*, first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, stylus and feather with ink on parchment, British Museum, London, 11 x 41.3 cm.



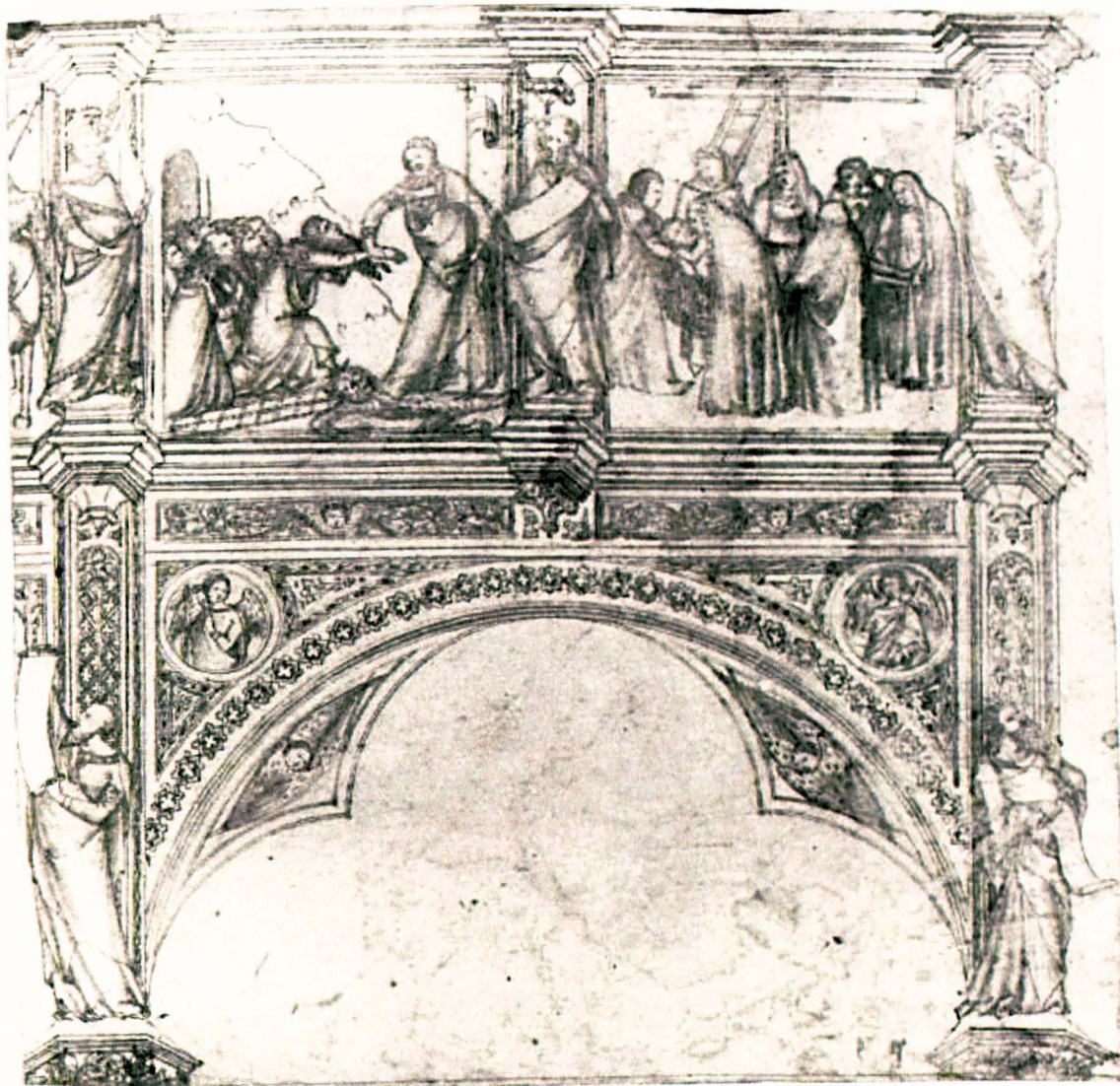


Figure 151. *The Harrowing of Hell, The Deposition*, scenes illustrated on the *Preparatory Drawing for a pulpit*, first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, stylus and feather with ink on parchment, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 25 x 24.7 cm.





Figure 152. Simone Martini, *The Road to Calvary*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, detail of the Orsini Polyptych, 29.5 x 20.5 cm.



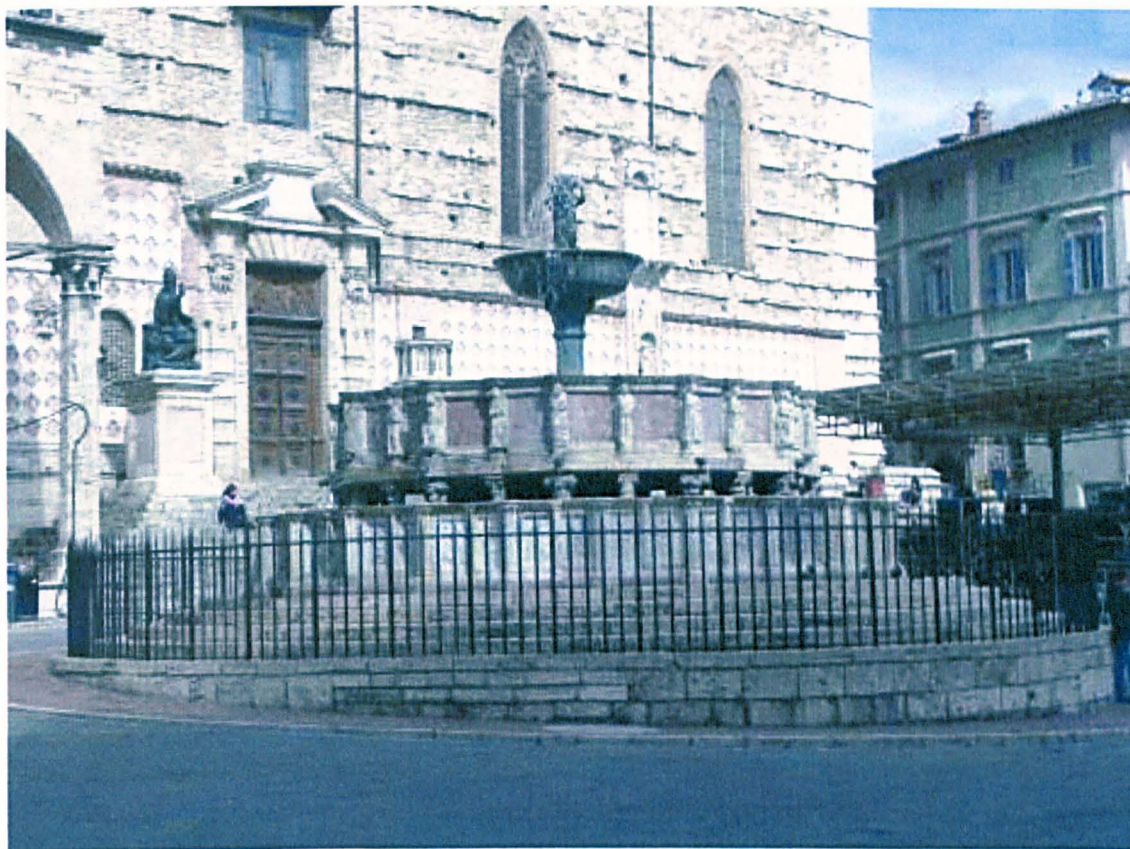


Figure 153. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, *Fontana Maggiore*, c.1277-1278, Perugia, Piazza Maggiore.



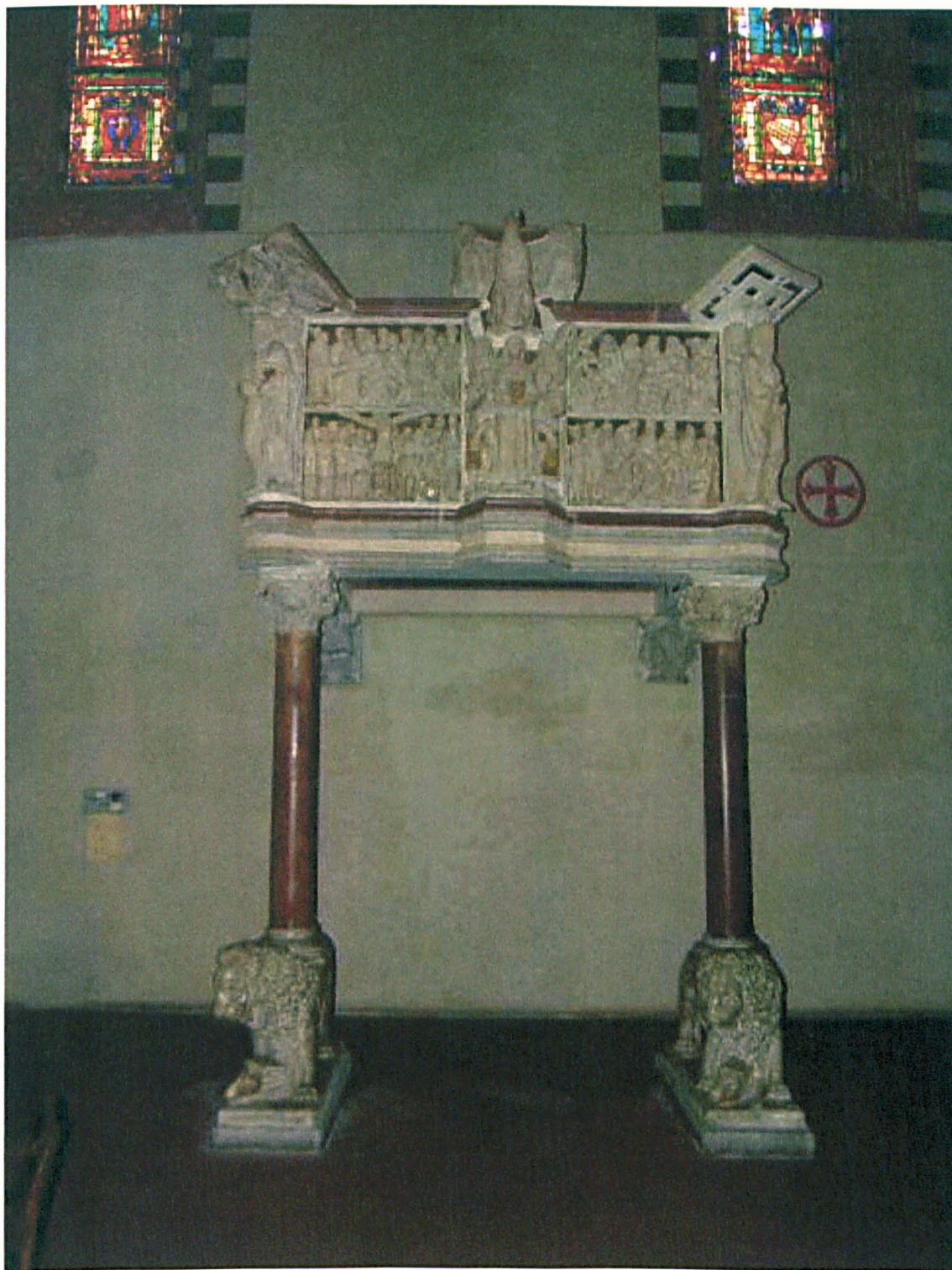


Figure 154. Fra' Guglielmo, *Pulpit*, c.1270, San Giovanni Fuoricivitas, Pistoia.





Figure 155. *Pulpit*, 13th century (?), Church of Sant'Andrea, Orvieto.

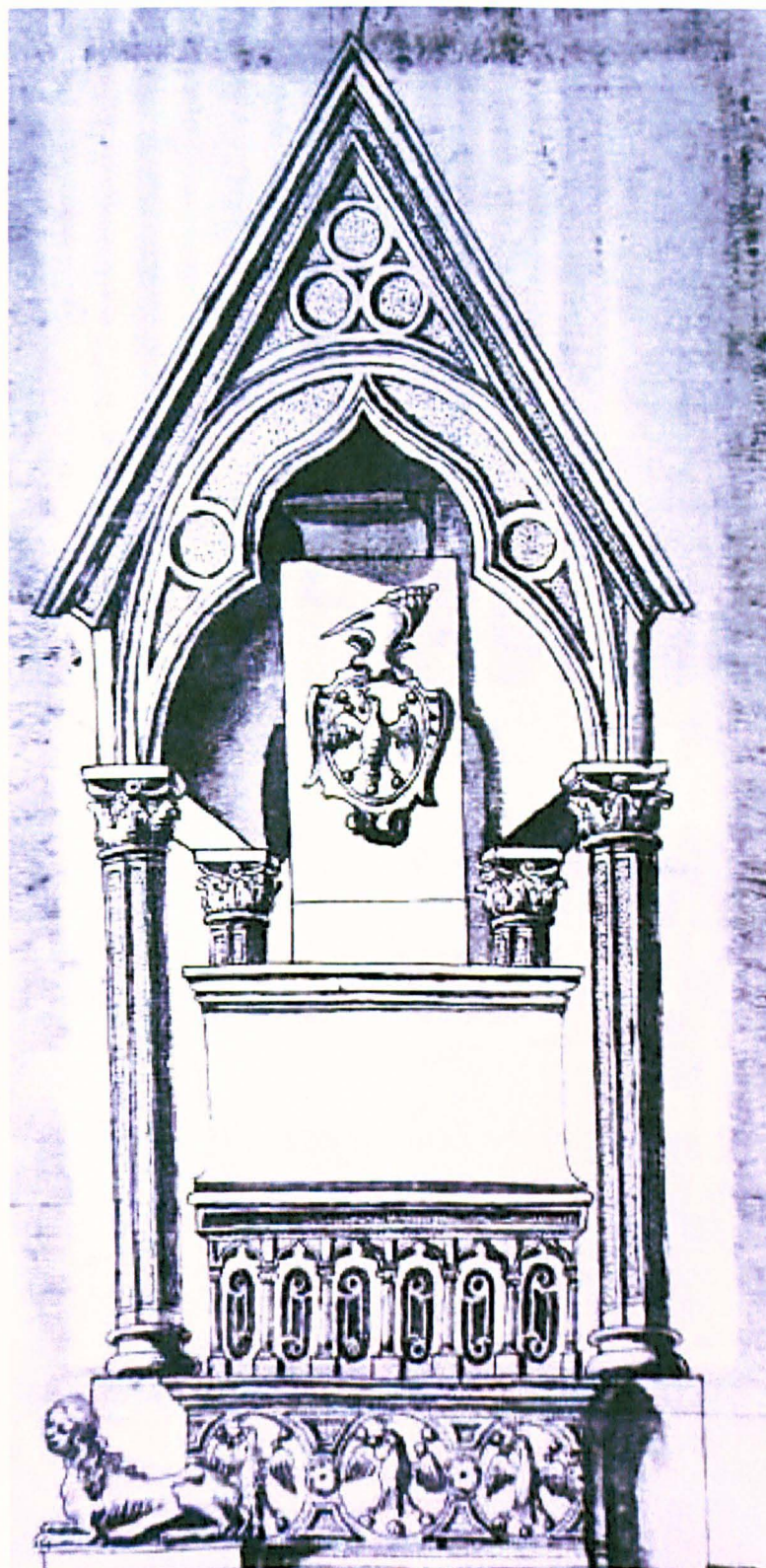


Figure 156. Tomb of Pietro di Vico, Santa Maria in Gradi, Viterbo, drawing in the Royal Collection, Windsor. (Gardner 1992).



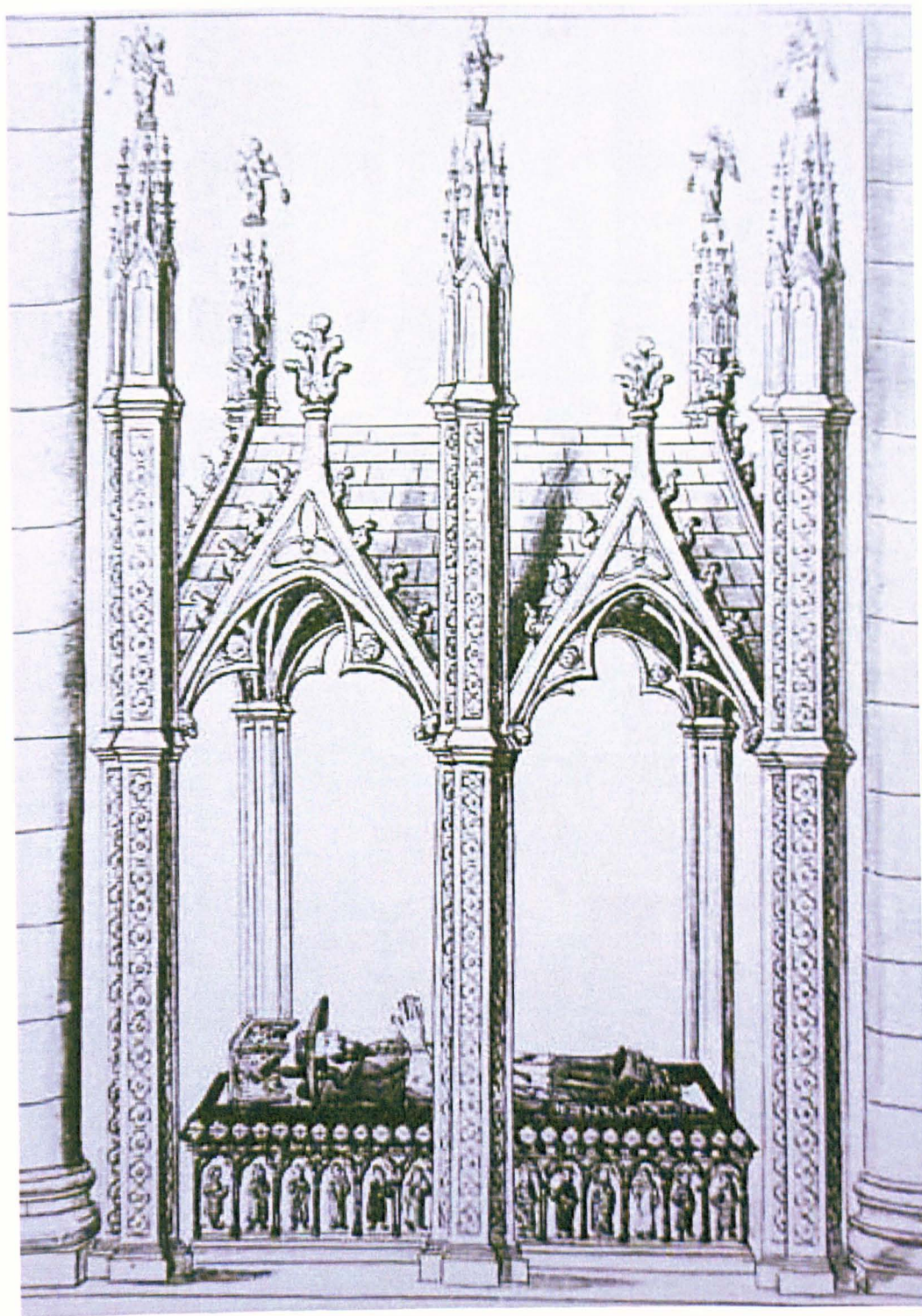


Figure 157. Tomb of Cardinal Jean Cholet (d. 1292), Saint-Lucien, Beauvais, destroyed, drawing from Gagnières. (Gardner 1992).





Figure 158. Tino di Camaino, *Tomb of Catherine of Austria*, c.1324-1325, Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, view of the right side of the apse.





Figure 159. Tino di Camaino, *Tomb of Mary of Valois*, c.1331-1337, Church of Santa Chiara, Naples.





Figure 160. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, view of interior *Cortile* of the wing of the Podestà, 1298-1310.





Figure 161. Porta del Vescovado, Orvieto Cathedral, view of south side entrance portal.





Figure 162. Church of San Lorenzo de' Arari, Orvieto.



Figure 163. San Jacopo Maggiore, Orvieto.



Figure 164. Church of SS. Apostoli, Orvieto.





Figure 165. Church of San Francesco, Orvieto, view of entrance portal on western façade.



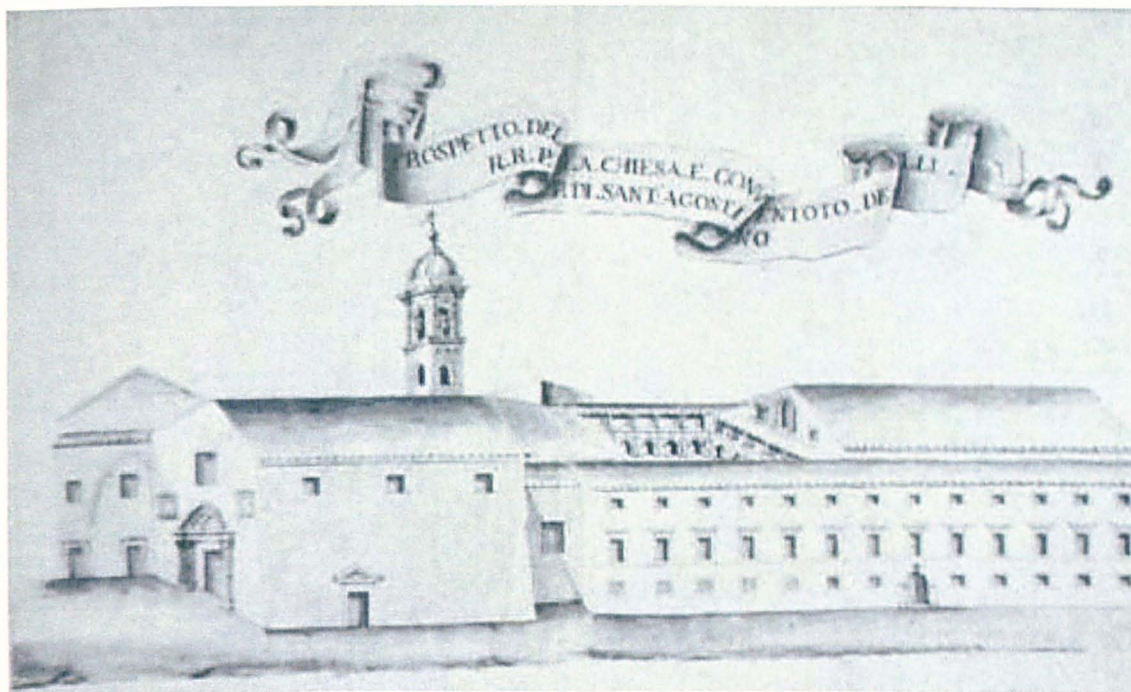


Figure 166. Drawing of Church and Convent of Sant'Agostino, 18<sup>th</sup> century, ink and watercolour on paper, Orvieto. (Satolli 1977).



Figure 167. Church of Sant'Agostino, Orvieto, gothic portal from Santa Lucia.



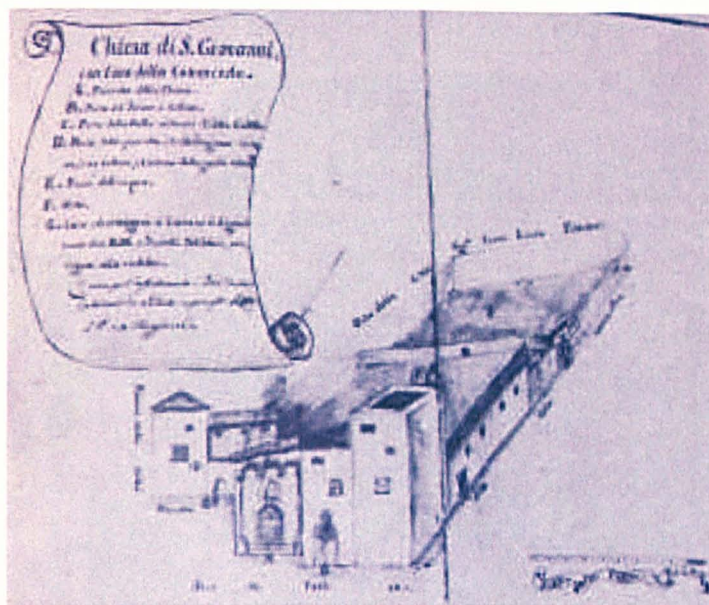


Figure 168. Drawing of Church and Convent of San Giovanni, 18<sup>th</sup> century, pen and watercolour on paper, Orvieto. (Satolli 1977).



Figure 169. Church of San Giovanni *in Platea*, Orvieto, view of entrance portal.



Figure 170. Church of Santa Mustiola, Orvieto.





Figure 171. Church of Santa Mustiola, Orvieto, detail of hanging apse.





Figure 172. Abbey Church of Santi Severo e Martirio, Orvieto, detail of hanging apse on east wall.



Figure 173. Church of Santo Stefano, Orvieto, detail of hanging apse on east wall.



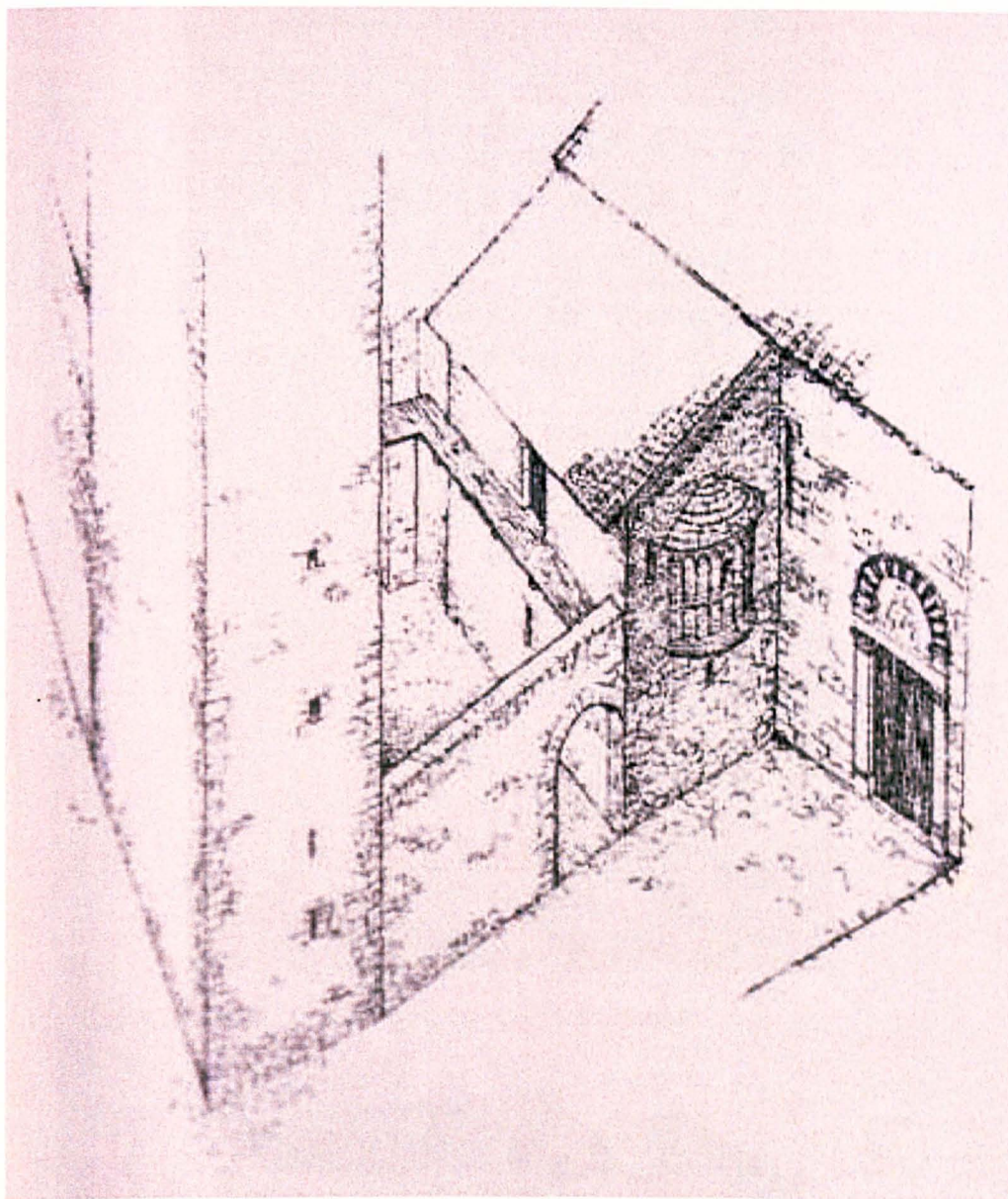


Figure 174. Cathedral of San Zeno and Bishop's Palace, Pistoia, detail of hanging apse in the Chapel of San Niccolò, c.1170. (Tigler 2006).



Figure 175. Church of San Giovanni *in Vetere*, Orvieto, view of façade.



Figure 176. Church of San Ludovico, Orvieto, view of façade.





Figure 177. Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto, view of western façade.





Figure 178. Drawing of the Church and Convent of Santa Maria de' Servi, 18<sup>th</sup> century, ink and watercolour on paper, Orvieto. (Satolli 1977).



Figure 179. Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Orvieto, detail of entrance portal.





Figure 180. Abbey of Santi Severo e Martirio, Orvieto, view from west.





Figure 181. Church of San Lorenzo in *Vineis*, Orvieto, view from east.



Figure 182. Church and Convent of Santa Trinità, Orvieto, view from south.



Figure 183. Church and Monastery of Santo Spirito, Orvieto, view from south.



Figure 184. Church of Santo Spirito, Orvieto, view of apse.







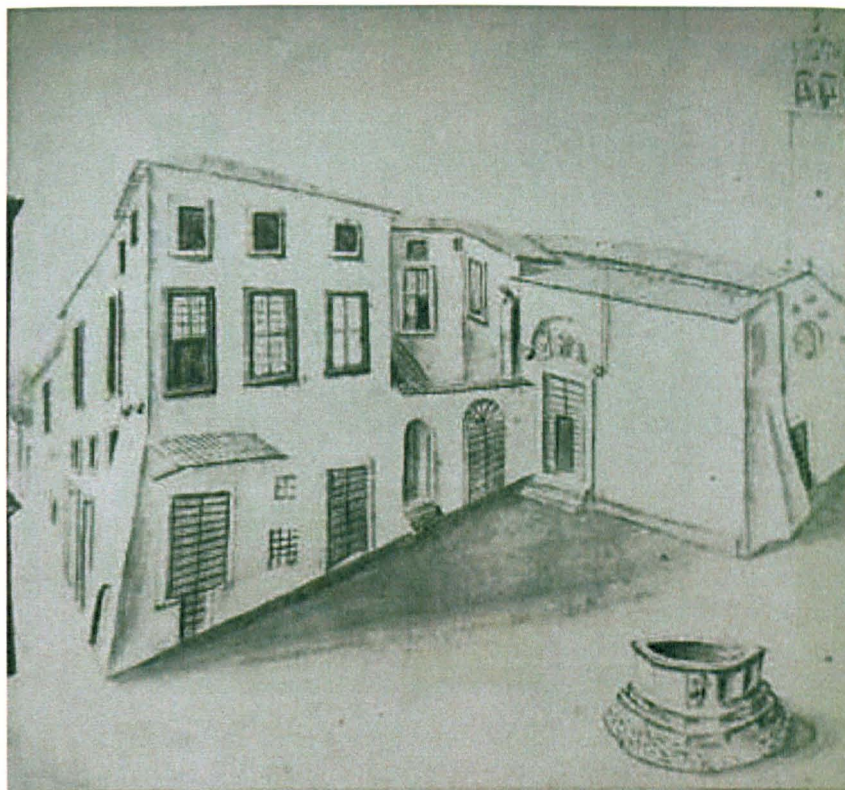


Figure 187. Church of Sant'Angelo, Orvieto, c.1776, pen and ink on paper, Private Collection, Orvieto. (Satolli 1976).



Figure 188. W. Brockedon, *Orvieto*, etching, 1843, view of Orvieto from southwest, showing Monastery of Santa Trinità, Convent of San Lorenzo in *Vineis* and Monastery of Santo Spirito, Private Collection, Orvieto. (Satolli 1974).



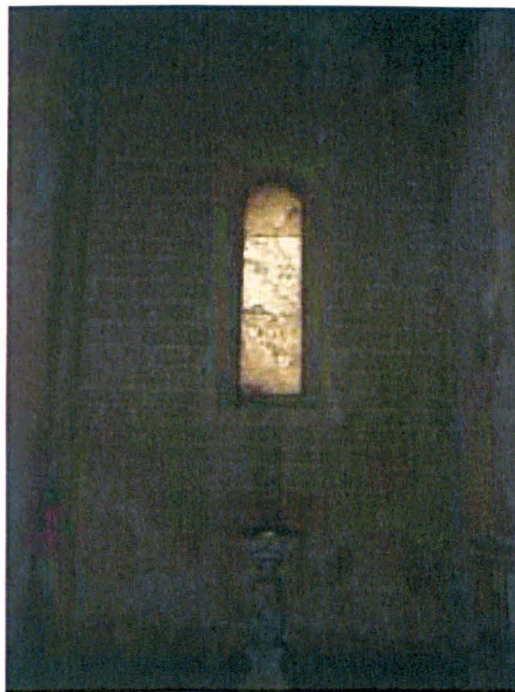


Figure 189. Church of Sant'Andrea, Orvieto, interior view of alabaster filled lancet window.



Figure 190. *Celebration of the Hodegetria*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, fresco, Markov Monastery, FYR – Macedonia.



Figure 191. Medieval Bronze Bells, Church of San Domenico, Siena.



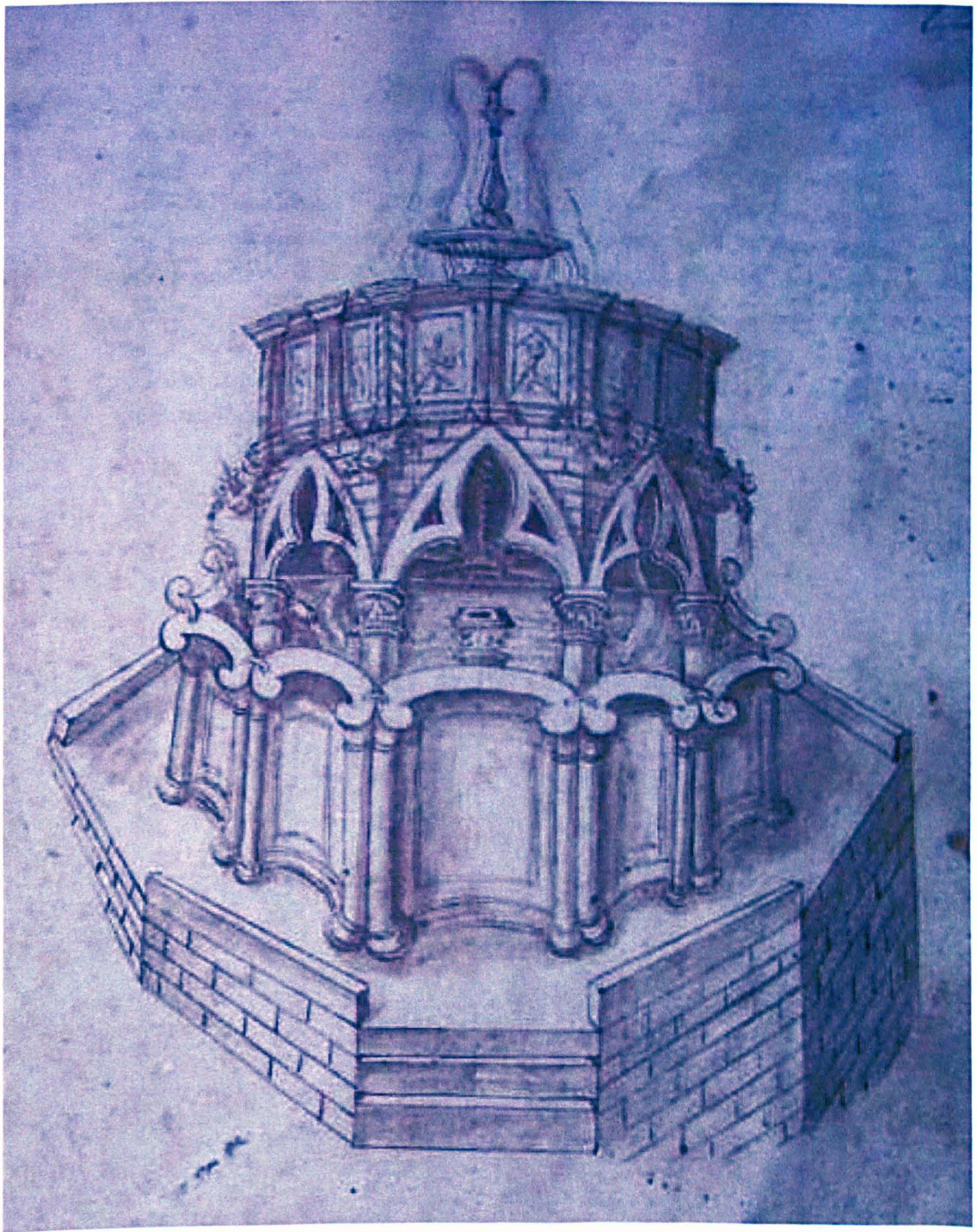


Figure 192. Tommaso Braccioli, *Drawing of the Fountain in Piazza Maggiore, Cortona, (c.1278)*, mid-sixteenth century, Biblioteca Comunale di Cortona, MS. C.C. 512, f.52.





Figure 193. Decorative details, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 194. *Annunciation*. c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 195. *Visitation*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 196. *Saint Giovenale*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 197. *Crucifixion*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 198. *Saint Francis*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 199, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 200. *Virgin Mary*, detail of *Annunciation*, c.1260, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.





Figure 201. Simone Martini, *The Altar of Santa Caterina*, 1319-1320, tempera on wood panel, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, 195 x 340 cm.



Figure 202. *Crucifixion*, last quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century, fresco, Abbey of SS. Severo e Martirio, Refectory.

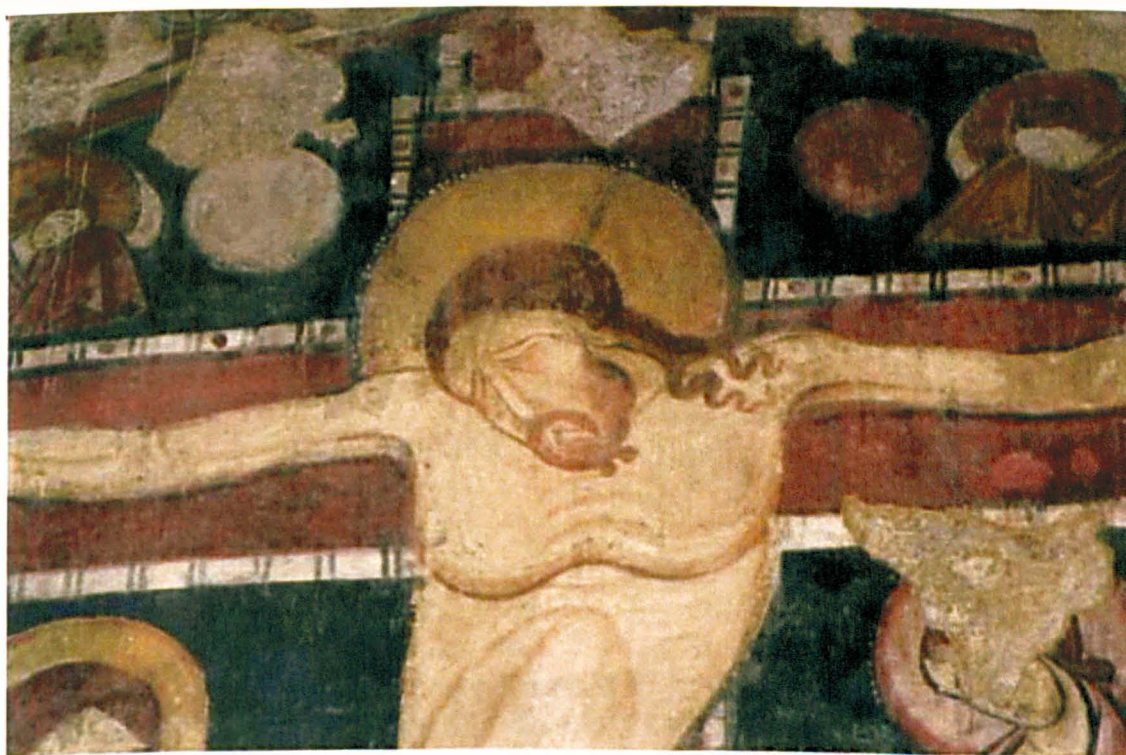


Figure 203. *Christ*, detail of *Crucifixion*, last quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century, fresco, Abbey of SS. Severo e Martirio, Refectory.



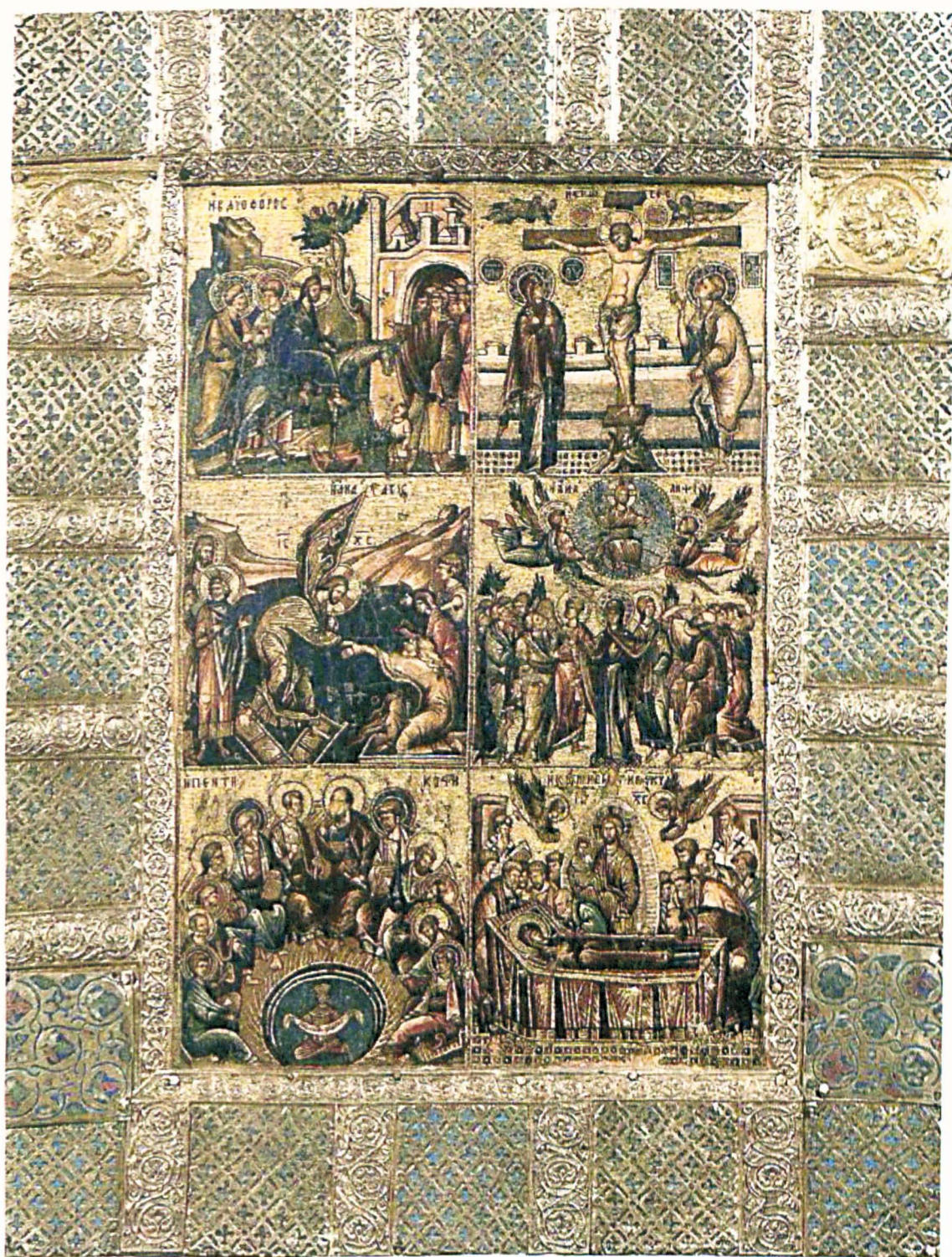


Figure 204. Constantinople, *Cycle of Feast Days*, right wing of mosaic diptych, 1300-1350, coloured tesserae and gilt-copper rods embedded in wax and mastic on wood panel, 37 x 28 cm including frame.





Figure 205. Constantinople, *Crucifixion*, mosaic icon, coloured glass and gold embedded in wax and mastic on wood panel, end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 36.9 x 30.3 cm including frame.



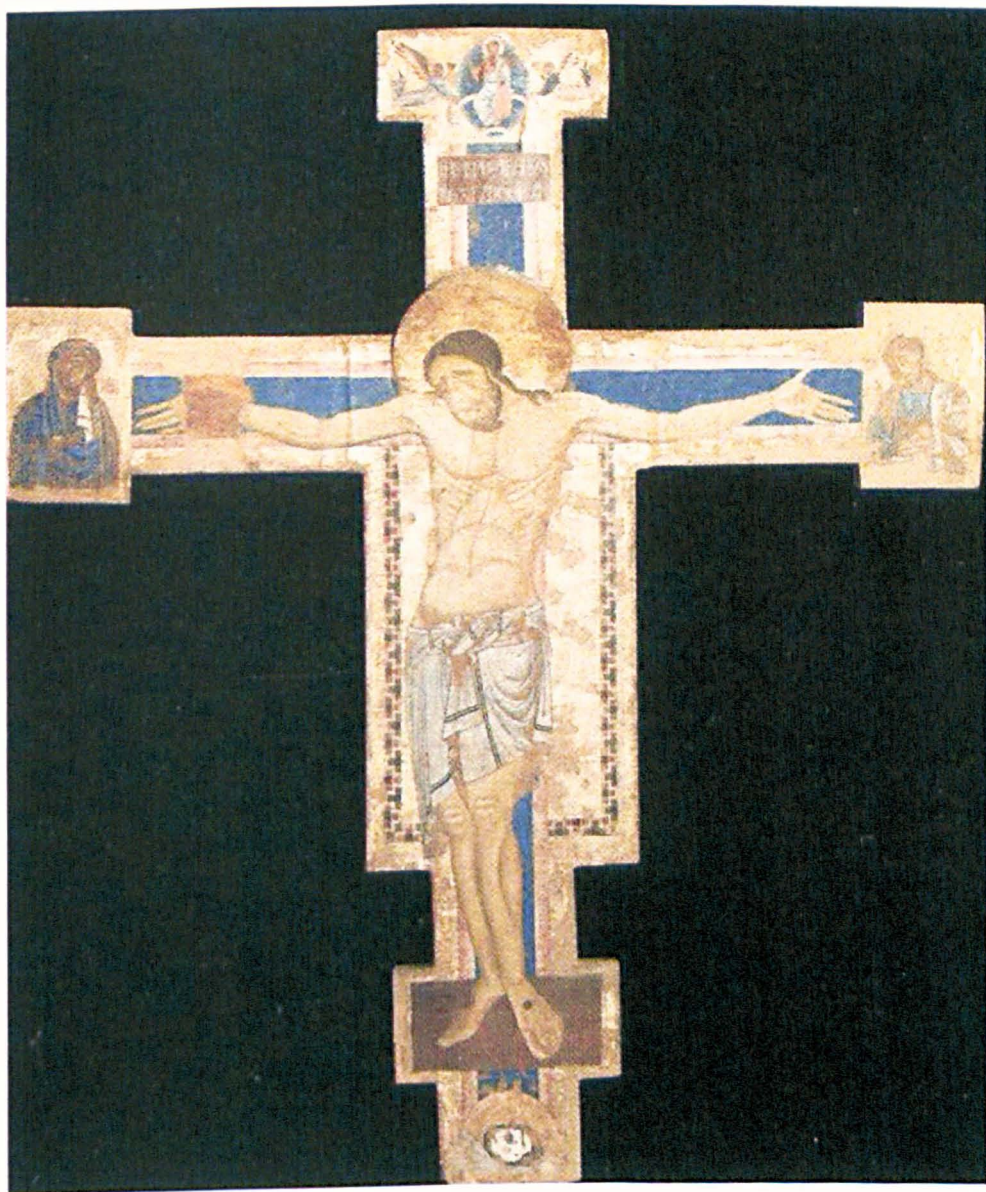


Figure 206. Pupil of Simeone and Machilone, *Crucifix*, third quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century, tempera on wood panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 107 x 138 cm.

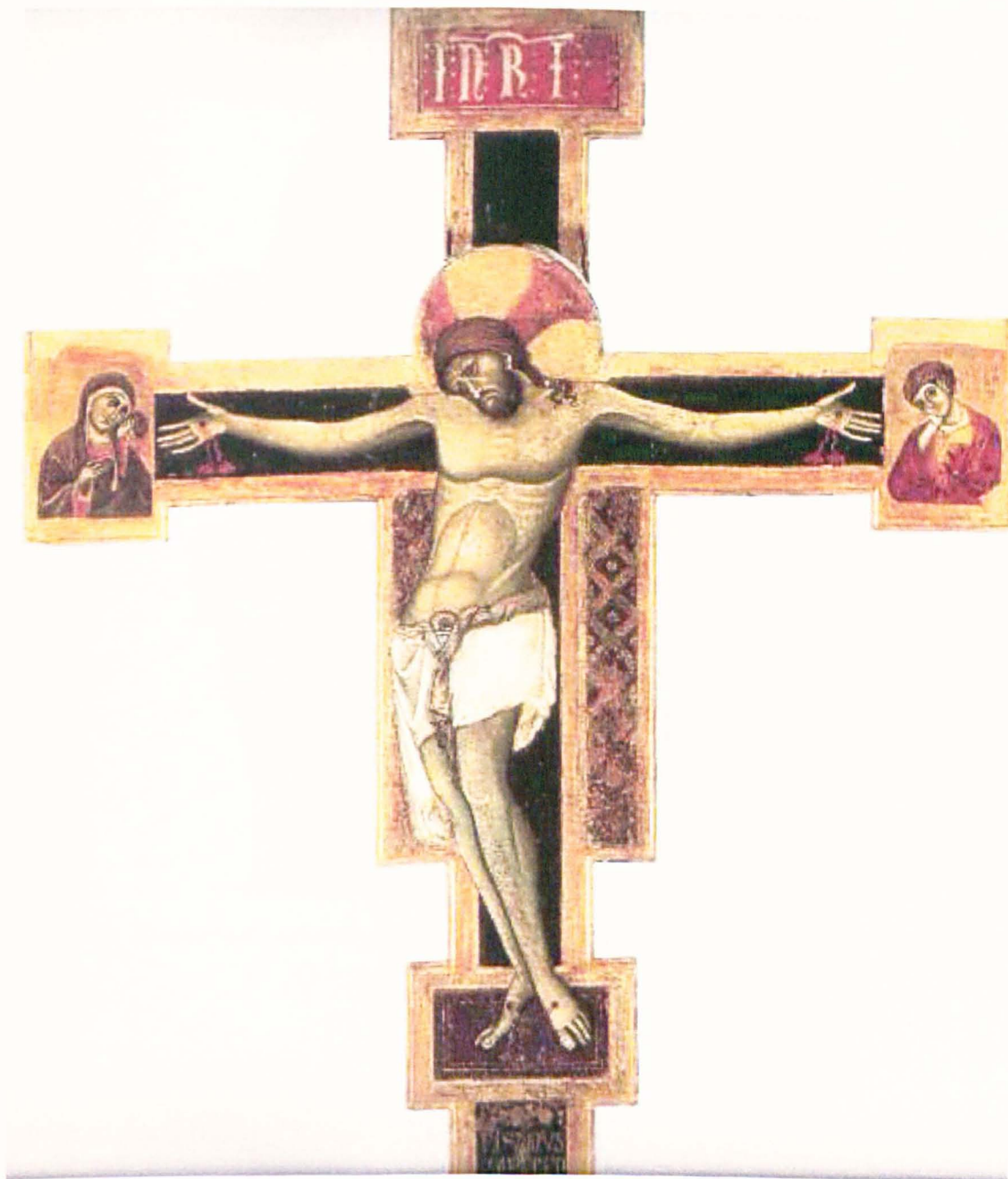


Figure 207. Giunta Pisano, *Crucifix*, mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, tempera and gold on wood panel, Museo nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, 185 x 135 cm.





Figure 208. Simeone and Machilone, *Crucifix*, c.1257, tempera on panel, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, 160 x 101 cm.



Figure 209. Simeone and Machilone, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, tempera and gold on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 75 x 50 cm.





Figure 210. Simeone and Machilone, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c.1260, tempera on panel, Museum van den Bergh, Antwerp, 119 x 80 cm.



Figure 211. *Madonna and Child*, late 13<sup>th</sup> century, tempera on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 179.5 x 162 cm.





Figure 212. Coppo di Marcovaldo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c.1265, tempera and gold on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 222 x 134 cm.





Figure 213. Coppo di Marcovaldo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c.1261, tempera and gold on panel, Church of Santa Maria dei Servi, Siena, 220 x 125 cm.



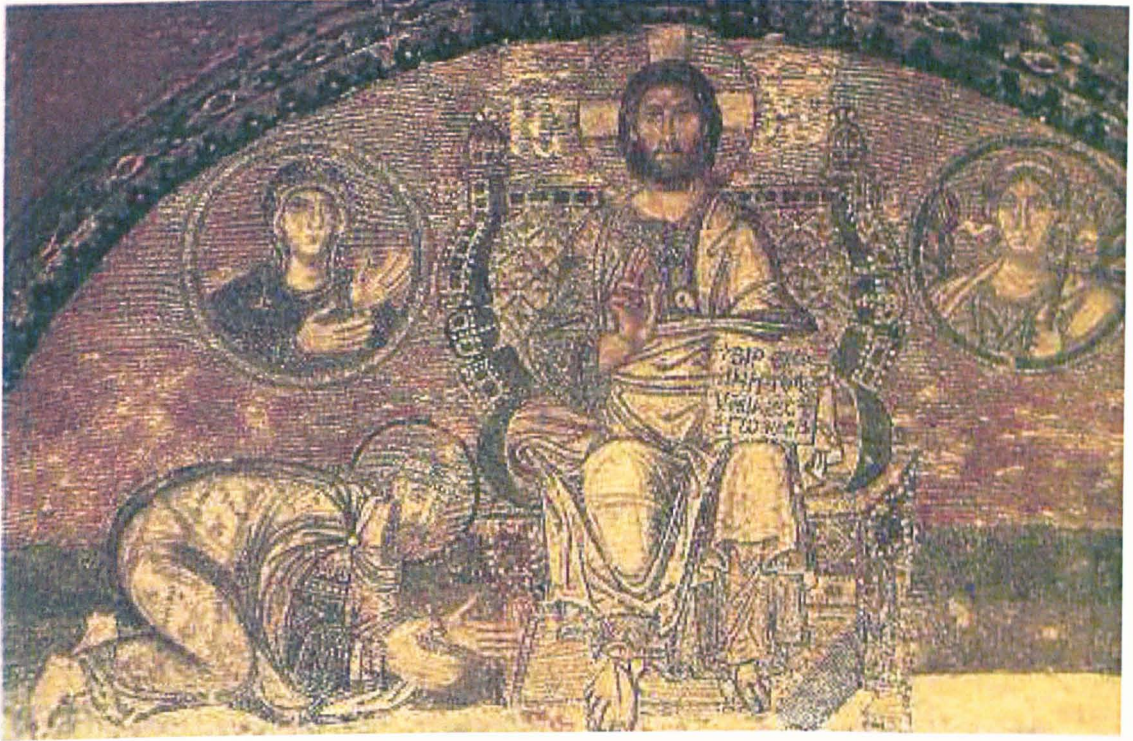


Figure 214. *Christ Enthroned with Emperor Leon VI*, c.920, mosaic, Hagia Sofia, Istanbul, inner narthex, imperial portal.

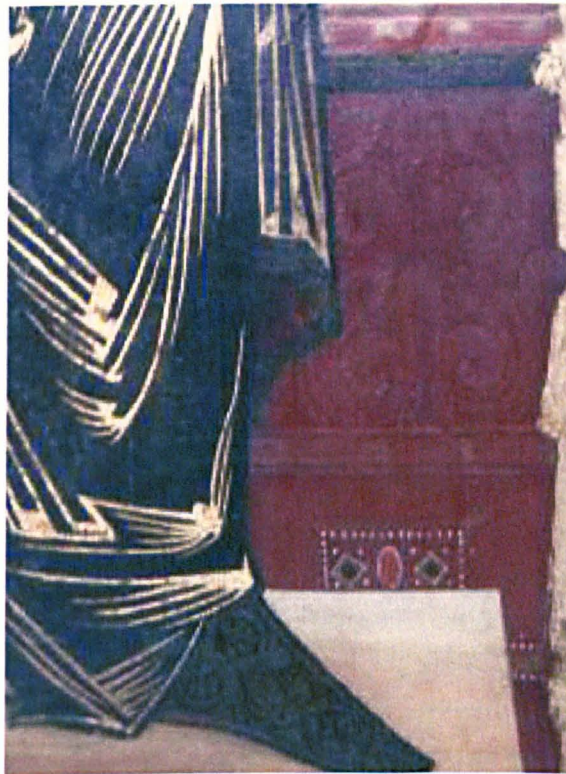


Figure 215. Coppo di Marcovaldo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, detail, c.1265, tempera and gold on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 222 x 134 cm.





Figure 216. *Two Apostles*, 1275-1285, fresco, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 80 x 82 cm.



Figure 217. *Madonna and Child*, c.1270, marble, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 58 cm high.





Figure 218. *Angel (behind high backed throne?)*, second half of 13<sup>th</sup> century, fresco, Church of San Giovenale, Orvieto.



Figure 219. *Virgin and Child*, end of 13<sup>th</sup> century, pear wood, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 70 cm high.



Figure 220. *Virgin and Child*, 1330-1340, wood, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 154 cm high.



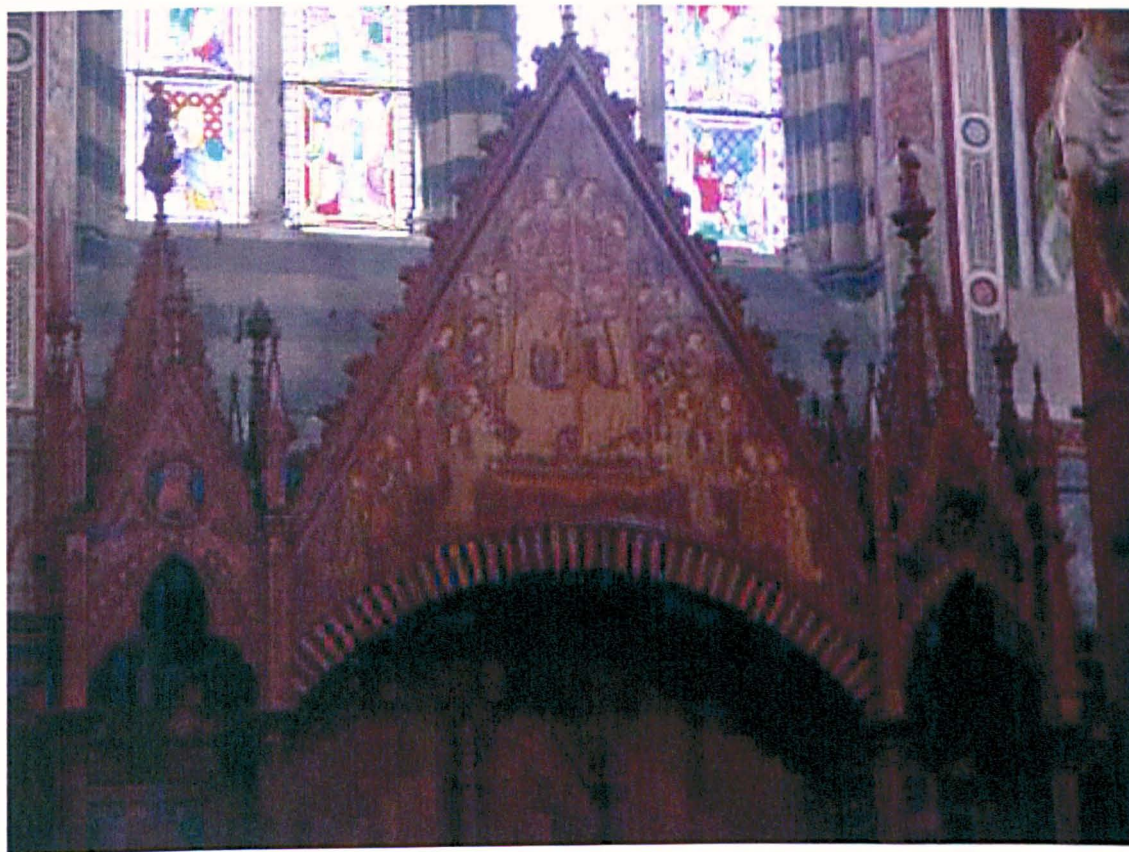


Figure 221. *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of *Bishop's throne and Canopy*, c.1330-1370, wooden marquetry, Orvieto Cathedral, apse.



Figure 222. *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of *Bishop's throne and Canopy*, c.1330-1370, wooden marquetry, Orvieto Cathedral, apse.





Figure 223. Nardo di Cione, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1345, tempera on panel, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 77.5 x 118 cm.



Figure 224. Jacopo di Cione, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of central panel from *The San Pier Maggiore Altarpiece*, c.1370-1371, tempera on poplar, National Gallery, London, 206.5 x 113.5 cm.





Figure 225. Lippo Memmi, *Assumption of the Virgin*, after 1345, gold and tempera on panel, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 72.5 x 32.5 cm.

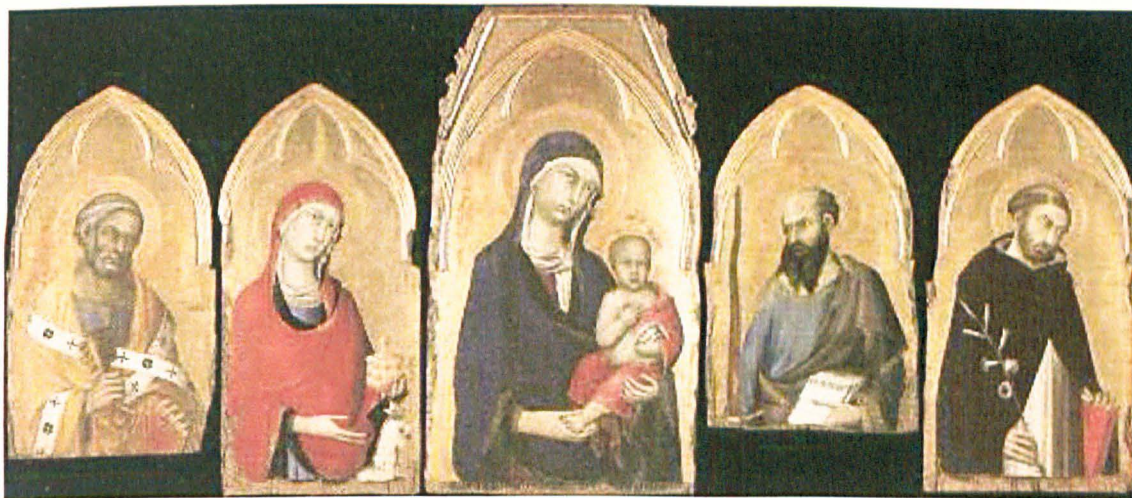


Figure 226. Simone Martini, *The Altar of San Domenico*, c.1321-1322, gold and tempera on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 113 x 63 central panel, 94 x 48.5 side panels.



Figure 227. Simone Martini, *The Altar of Santa Maria de' Servi*, c.1321, gold and tempera on panel, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 99 x 60.7cm central panel, 86.2 x 42.9 cm side panels.





Figure 228. Simone Martini, *The Altar of San Francesco*, c.1321-1325, gold and tempera on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 179.6 x 59.9 cm.





Figure 229. Simone Martini, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, c.1321-1325, gold and tempera on panel, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 82.2 x 44.5 cm.



Figure 230. Simone Martini, *Prophets Jacob, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and King David*, c.1321-1325, gold and tempera on panel, Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, 10 cm diameters.

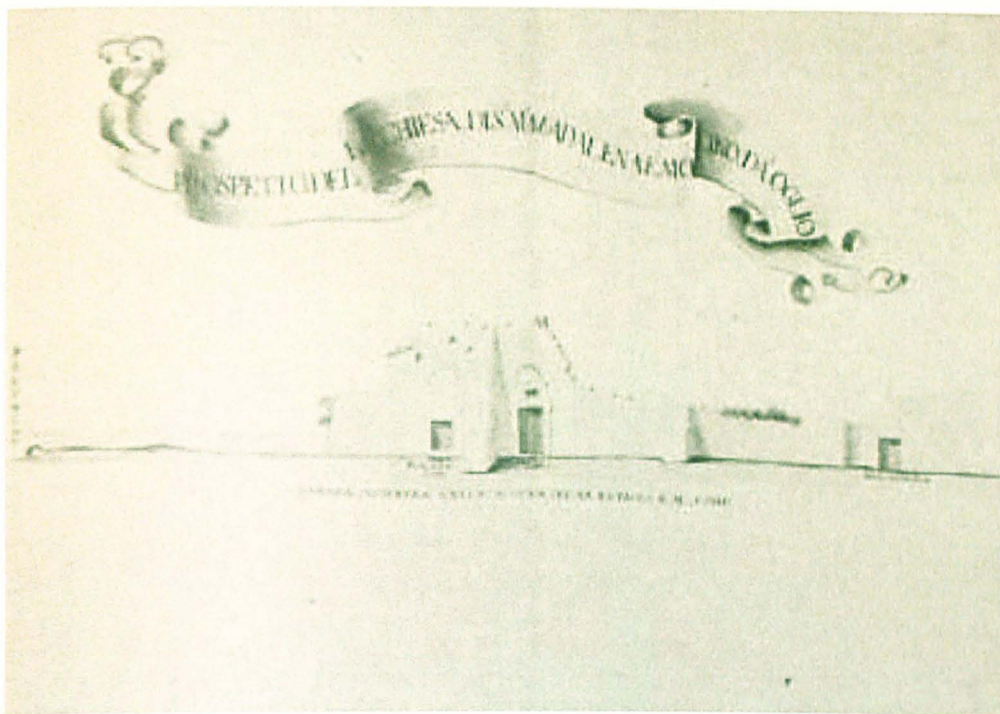


Figure 231. Drawing of remaining portal of Church and Convent of Santa Maria Maddalena, 18<sup>th</sup> century, ink and watercolour on paper, Orvieto. (Satolli 1977).

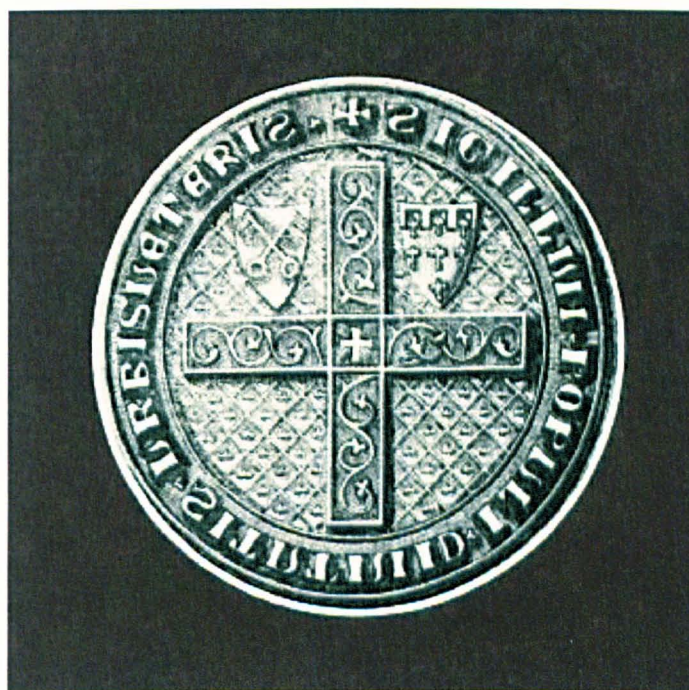


Figure 232. *Sigillum populi civitatis Urbisveteris*, on Bell of Palazzo del Popolo, Orvieto, refounded 1316, original in bronze. (Waley 1985).





Figure 233. *Statue of Boniface VIII originally on the Porta Postierla, c.1297, marble, Church of San Francesco, Orvieto, 150 cm in height.*





Figure 234. *Statue of Boniface VIII originally on the Porta Maggiore, c.1297, marble, Church of San Francesco, Orvieto, 180 cm in height.*



Figure 235. Seal of Francesco, Bishop of Orvieto, (1279-1295). (Perali 1979).



Figure 236. Seal of Francesco, Bishop of Florence, (1296-1301), red wax, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, Florence, n. 41, 75 x 45 x 20 mm.



Figure 237. Seal of Francesco, Bishop of Florence, (1296-1301), red wax, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, Florence, n. 38, 72 x 42 x 20 mm.





Figure 238. Seal Matrix of Teodorico, Archbishop elect of Palermo, c.1294, bronze, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome, Collezione Corvisieri, n. 113, 68 x 42 mm.



Figure 239. Seal of Teodorico, Archbishop elect of Palermo, c.1294, gesso, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome, Collezione Corvisieri, n. 113, 68 x 42 mm.



Figure 240. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *The Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew*, 1308-1311, tempera on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 43.5 x 46 cm.





Figure 241. Seal of John of Toledo, Cardinal priest of San Lorenzo in Lucina (1244-1261). (Gardner 1975).



Figure 242. Seal of Pietro Colonna, Cardinal deacon of Sant'Eustachio (1288-1297), Archivio Vaticano, Rome, n. SL 103, 58 x 36 mm. (Gardner 1975).





Figure 243. Seal of Gentile Partino da Montefiore, Cardinal of San Martino ai Monti, c.1309, wax, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, A.A.Arm.C, 505.



Figure 244. Seal of Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, c.1312, red wax, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, Florence, n. 75, 66 x 42 mm.

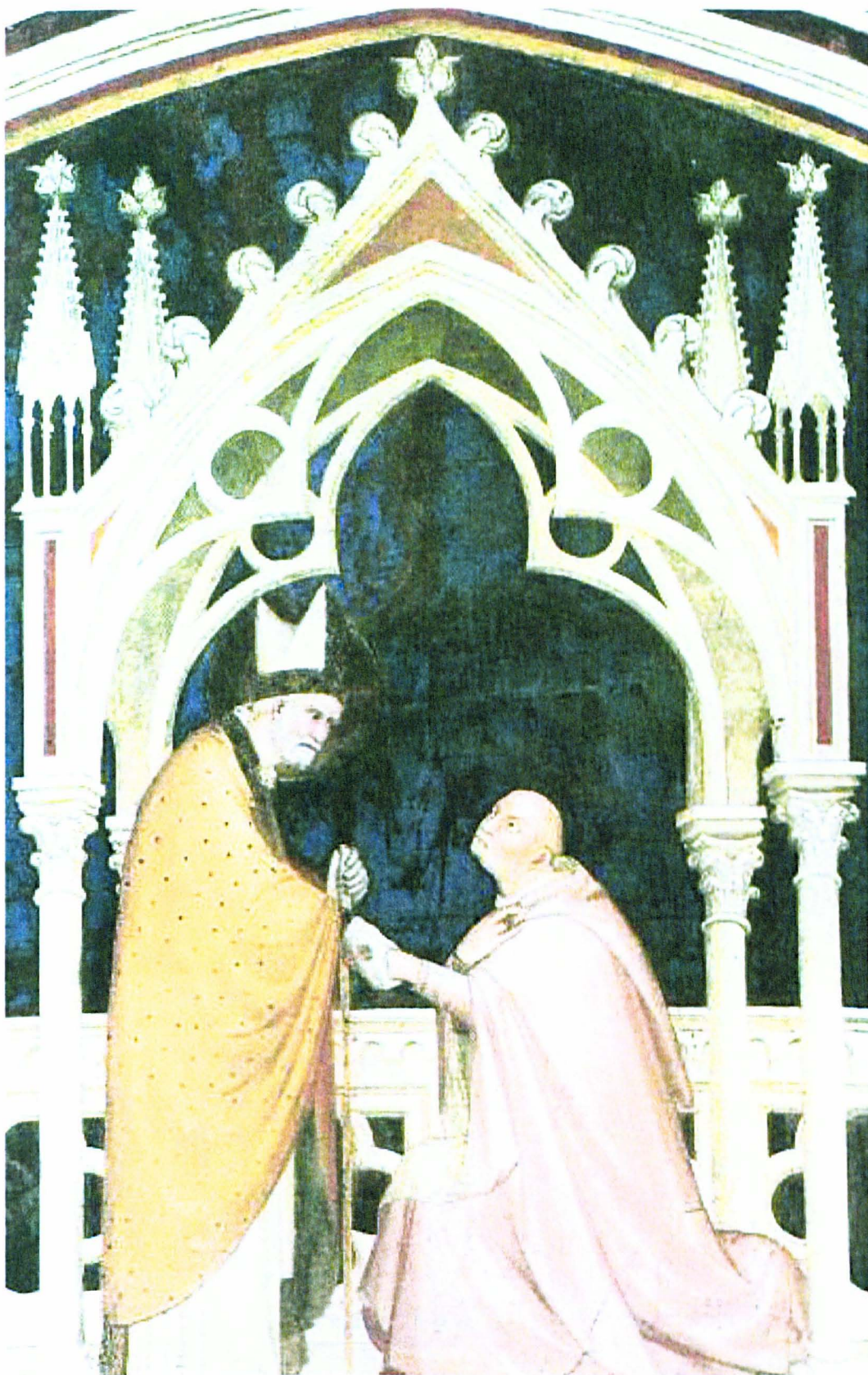


Figure 245. Simone Martini, *Gentile Partino da Montefiore kneels before St. Martin*, 1312-1319, fresco, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, Chapel of San Martino.





Figure 246. Pietro Lorenzetti, *The Pieve Polyptych*, c.1320, tempera on panel, Pieve, Arezzo, high altar, 298 x 309 cm.





Figure 247. Seal of Matteo d'Acquasparta, Cardinal bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina, (1291-1302), Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, Florence, n. 44, 55 x 40 mm.



Figure 248. Seal of Teodorico, Cardinal bishop of Civitatis Papalis, (1299-1306), red wax, Archivio di Stato, *Sigilli staccati*, Florence, n. 43, 74 x 43 mm.



Figure 249. Pace di Valentino (?), *Saint Galganus crowned in Heaven*, detail of the *Reliquary of San Galgano*, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, 36.5 x 99.5 cm.



Figure 250. Guccio di Mannaia, *Crucifixion*, detail of *Chalice of Pope Nicholas IV*, 1288-1292, silver and enamel, Museo del Tesoro della basilica di San Francesco, Assisi, 22.4 x 18 cm.





Figure 251. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Censing Angel*, c.1282, marble, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 58 cm in height.





Figure 252. Arnolfo di Cambio, *Censing Angel*, c.1282, marble, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, 58 cm in height.



Figure 253. Seal of Annibaldo Annibaldi, Cardinal priest of XII apostoli, c.1263. (Gardner 1975).



Figure 254. Tomb of Simon of Beaulieu, Abbey of Jouy, enamelled copper, copy from Gaignières. (Gardner 1992).



Figure 255. Papal Palace, Avignon.